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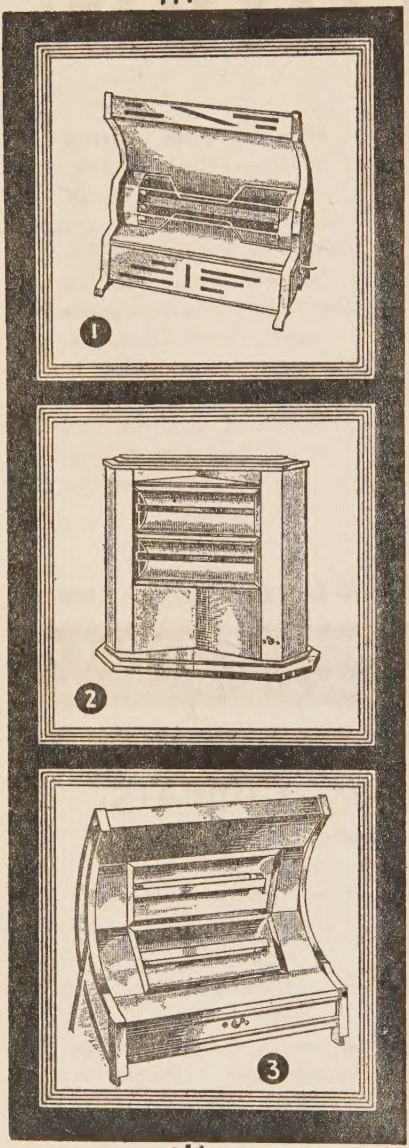

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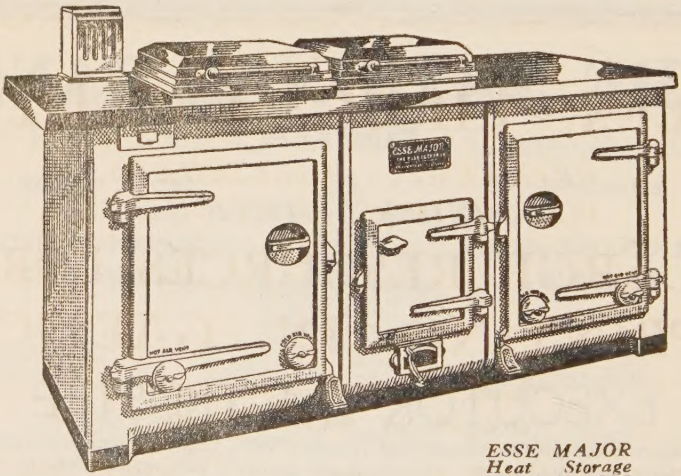

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AUDITORS :
KEAN & CO., Chartered Accountants, 46 Dame Street.

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 30th day of January, 1939.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1938, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£37,900	1	9
To which has to be added :—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	27,454	7	1
	£65,354	8	10

The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz. :—

In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Twelve** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	30,000	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000	0	0
To next Account	30,354	8	10
	£65,354	8	10

The Reserve Fund remains at £730,000.

By Order of the Board,
HENRY J. CAMPBELL,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 12*th January*, 1939.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1938. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000.000 ; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ..	1,556,358 8 10
„ Reserve Fund	730,000 0 0	„ Investments, viz. :—	
„ Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0 *Less* : Held by the Bank ... 54,418 0 0	495,582 0 0	War Loan, National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per Contra)	4,276,013 6 0
„ Deposit Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,310,179 9 2	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	300,381 18 5
„ Sundry Agents	55.443 10 4		6,132,753 13 3
„ Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	4,379 7 8	„ Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,858,287 11 11
„ Profit and Loss Account ...	65,354 8 10	„ Sundry Agents	4,292 13 1
		„ Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	165,604 17 9
	£12,160,938 16 0		£12,160,938 16 0

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1938.

To	£ s. d.	By	£ s. d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	113,961 19 10	Balance from last Account ...	27,454 7 1
„ Dividend to be paid in February, 1939, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 30,000 0 0		„ Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	151,862 1 7
„ Bank Premises Account ... 5,000 0 0			
„ Balance to next Acct. 30,354 8 10			
	65,354 8 10		
	£179,316 8 8		£179,316 8 8

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1938, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

DUBLIN, 12th January, 1939.

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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

MARCH 1939

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POPE PIUS XI

BY PROFESSOR DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A., PH.D.

Ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo.—Isaias 60. 3

THE papal villa of Castel Gandolfo commands one of the fairest prospects in all central Italy. As I stood by a window of the main audience-hall on a perfect May morning in 1937, my eyes wandered from the shimmering lake that stretched beneath to the sun-gilt peaks of the Alban hills in front. The breath of spring had quickened the smiling land, and I remember thinking of the poignant contrast between this pulsation of new life and the old man already in the shadow of the tomb on whom we waited. Would he come at all? Many members of the audience were doubtful. True, he had survived—by a miracle it seemed—the violent attack of illness that had prostrated him during the previous winter. But the reports were again alarming. "If I were you," said the kindly Vatican official (an Irishman to boot) to whom I had applied for an audience ticket, "I'd hurry up"; and he shook his head significantly. As the minutes passed, I feared that the Pope's doctor might have forbidden him to appear. So he had, I afterwards discovered: his patient had fainted in the course of a heavy morning's work, and Dr. Milani had urged the suspension of public audiences. But the Pope came. A small incident, no doubt, but is it not an allegory of his life—and his death?

Photographs and descriptions had led me to expect a short burly figure with a broad face—"hard and extremely practical" Mr. Teeling had written. Was this really the same man, this frail figure with the ashen cheeks and sunken eyes, with the wasted hand raised in benediction? He was so weak that I felt sure he would collapse during the audience. Even speaking must have tried him sorely, for every word seemed to require a separate effort; yet he spoke at length. And then gradually I became aware of some mighty force in him,

some spiritual dynamo charging the feeble battery—the indomitable will that sustained him through all physical and mental suffering and drove him remorselessly along the familiar path of duty. Others have seen him in the full vigour of his powers, and I myself subsequently saw him when he had partially recovered his strength, but I shall always remember him as he appeared on that first occasion.

His address too is graven on my memory. For it illustrated all the qualities that made him not merely a great Pope but a very king of men. Before everything else courage. At the time Anglo-Italian relations were strained to breaking-point; the Fascist press had been ordered to boycott the coronation of King George VI and to substitute diatribes against England and "Anglophiles." The Pope went out of his way to pay a long tribute to "Our dear England—*la Nostra cara Inghilterra*," to praise its virtues (perhaps even, one of his listeners thought, to over-praise them), and to tell of the happiness it had given him to be represented at the Coronation: and all this to an audience mainly composed of Italians. Then humour, a pawky Lombard humour, very different from the brilliant and at times caustic wit of Leo XIII. Our company included some members of a "Bona Mors" Confraternity, and the Holy Father assured them that he had lately become an authority on their subject, having just taken "a sort of return trip (*un viaggio quasi di andata e ritorno*)" to its portals. Optimism too, or rather a serene faith in Providence, as when he spoke of the persecutions in Germany and Spain: "they are heavy clouds, but even the heaviest clouds must pass, and God's sun will shine again." Lastly, "the greatest of these," a charity wide as the world. It kindled his tired eyes as he bade us farewell, thanking us for the joy we had given him by visiting "the house of the old father who is the common father of all, who loves all his children, and loves them all the more because he knows he must leave them soon."

Those final words have been ringing in my ears during the past weeks, when it has been my task to read through the tributes paid to him in the press of many countries. For in

death has he not been shown to be *il padre commune*, the common father not merely of those who accepted his spiritual jurisdiction, but of all distracted and fear-stricken humanity? How else explain the wave of genuine, almost passionate grief that has marked his passing? Leave aside, if you will, the official condolences of heads of states and governments; discount much of what has been said by statesmen and journalists as dictated (in part at least) by political considerations: there still remains an immense residue to be accounted for. It can only mean that to millions outside the Church this old man stood for the principle of good incarnate in a world of increasing horror, for the symbol of peace and brotherly love amid the welter of conflicting ideologies and hatreds. We have all had examples within our own experience, and perhaps I may be allowed to cite one: an extract from a letter received by me after a recent broadcast in the "World Affairs" series of the B.B.C., in which I dealt with some purely secular aspects of the late Pope's policy. The writer, who declares himself to have been brought up "in the strictest form of evangelical Protestantism," concludes a moving tribute to Pius XI with the following words:

"He was one of the most Christlike men that ever lived, and I don't feel irreverent when I say that to me, as to many others outside the Roman obedience, he appeared like his Divine Master as 'the dayspring from on high that hath visited us, To give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.'"

There is one point which emerges clearly from a study of the world's press during recent weeks. The death of Pius XI finds the Apostolic See in possession of a degree of influence and moral leadership in the affairs of men and nations such as it has not enjoyed since the Middle Ages. "He leaves the Rock of Peter, in the eyes of many outside his allegiance who had doubted, established as what it was in its noblest days." This is not the pious eulogy of some devoted subordinate: it is taken from the leading article in *The Times* of February 11. Even more significant is the reaction of the American press and public when we remember the "anti-

Romanist" bias that up to recently dominated political life and political elections in the United States. The tone of President Roosevelt's message to Cardinal Pacelli was of itself sufficient to attract attention, but it was quickly eclipsed by the news of the adjournment of both Houses of Congress, a step without precedent in American history. And in all other countries, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, evidence of the unrivalled prestige of the Holy See presents itself in almost embarrassing fullness to the student of contemporary affairs. When Pius XI said, just ten years ago, that the new Vatican State was "at once the smallest and the greatest in the world," did even he realize the extent to which his claim would be justified? Not that the credit was solely his. He was building on foundations well and truly laid by Leo XIII and Benedict XV. In some ways his two great predecessors had an even harder task, the former in raising the Papacy from political oblivion to world-wide significance, the latter in steering it through the great war and anchoring it firmly in the new political order. But Pius XI did far more than continue their work; he expanded and exalted it out of recognition. In consequence, since the days of Innocent III no Pope has bequeathed to his successor a more imposing heritage of sympathy and veneration.

His place among the great Popes of history is therefore assured. But we are still too near him—he stands as it were too much in the foreground of the picture—to permit our generation to place him accurately. That will be the task of future historians. We can do no more than register some of the impressions made by the man and his work on his contemporaries.

But how attempt to do so in a single article? Even if I take the story of his life, so frequently re-told of late, as familiar to all my readers, his Pontificate had so many facets, his interests were so numerous, his achievements so varied, that the crudest epitome of them would more than exhaust the space at my disposal. Further, it would be presumptuous as well as futile for me to try to assess the value of his work in the purely religious field, the work that was nearest to his

heart and by which above all else he would wish to be remembered. His activities in secular and " mixed " affairs were all subordinated to that major purpose, and from it they drew a courage, one might almost say an audacity, which has few parallels in papal history. " When it is a question of saving souls, we would find the courage to treat with the Devil in person," he said during one of his many controversies with Mussolini after the signature of the Lateran agreements. Less known, but even more typical, was an incident which was afterwards disclosed by the Pope's legal adviser during the negotiations, Signor Pacelli. His opposite number on the Italian side, Councillor Barone, died in 1928 at a highly important stage of the negotiations, which it was feared would be adversely affected by his death. But when Pius XI was told that Barone, as a result of his contacts with the Vatican, had recovered his lost faith and had died reconciled with the Church, he professed himself completely reassured, " for the salvation of a single soul is worth infinitely more than a settlement of the Roman question."

This fundamentally spiritual attitude gives the key to all his dealings with secular states. Those who have sought to identify him with one or other of the so-called political " ideologies " of our time show a curious ignorance, whether genuine or assumed, of the mainspring of his policy. Those who have spoken of a " political Pope " are merely serving up the old ambiguity so clearly exposed by Leo XIII half a century ago : when accusing the Holy See of interference in purely political matters, in which it has no competence, they are really concerned to deny its right as a spiritual power to champion the cause of morality and religion in public as in private affairs. Over and over again Pius XI defended this right against all states in turn, regardless of their political complexion, asserting it just as firmly against Great Britain in the Malta affair as against Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. " It is a lie," he declared in his great speech to the members of the Christian Archaeology Congress last September, " that the Holy See and the Pope follow any policy except that of the glory of God and the good of souls. The Pope has only

one policy, from which no one can dispense him and which no one can take away from him, that of working for the common good. We have always engaged in such politics and will continue to do so as long as God gives us the means, the strength, and the grace."

A policy so firmly anchored to principles was perhaps bound to be misunderstood in a society where politics have become so divorced from morality that the needs and interests of the moment are the only factors taken into account. In a world of crooked lines the straight line looks strange and forbidding, if not abnormal; and so we have the curious spectacle of some politicians whose policy seemed for a time to run parallel to the Vatican's accusing it of "inconsistency" for declining to follow them in a sharp swerve to one side or the other. Pius XI pursued his straight line, undeterred by accusations or threats. No Pope has more scrupulously rendered to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; even when he disliked Caesar's policy, provided that it did not menace the essential interests of religion, he declined to intervene. The Italian aggression in Abyssinia was a case in point, and incidentally furnished an example of the inability of certain exalted persons to think in a straight line. Most of the appeals to the Pope for intervention were made by the leaders of other religious denominations, Anglican prelates particularly, who would be the last to acknowledge his authority in spiritual matters, but were willing to invest him with a political authority to which no Pope has ever laid claim—provided, of course, that this authority be used against the enemies of Britain, for what would the same people or their predecessors have said if a Pope had denounced the series of aggressions by which the British Empire in Africa was built up? It is clear from Pius XI's pronouncements at the time that the Vatican's influence was thrown unreservedly on the side of peace (the full story of its efforts has still to be told); but once war had come both fairness and prudence forbade it to take sides in a purely secular conflict. Its neutrality was distorted by the disappointed petitioners into a blessing of Italian aggression. "The Pope has been bought by Fascism," shouted the more

malevolent; "he is afraid of the Fascists," said the others. Somehow I think the latter calumny would have hurt him more. But would he have even understood it? This man did not know the meaning of fear. A few years before, while Fascist rowdies were kicking his photograph about the streets of Rome and shouting "Death to the traitor Ratti," he was calmly assuring an anxious group of pilgrims: "They can kill Us, but they will not silence Us." And friend and foe alike knew that he meant it.

Today many of those who were then denouncing his "philo-Fascist" policy acclaim him as a champion of Democracy. Again the same inability to recognise a straight line. Pius XI's attitude towards all political systems was identical: he examined their underlying philosophy, which he denounced and rejected where it conflicted with the traditional teachings of Christianity, and he judged them by their fruits, always ready to meet any government, democratic or autocratic, in the sphere of practical accommodation. It is quite true that in recent years the anti-Christian implications of totalitarian policy have become increasingly evident, whereas the secularist democracies, France in particular, have shown themselves prepared to abandon in practice many of their secularist principles. Pius XI apportioned the meed of censure and praise accordingly. But the Pope who denounced the pagan brutality of Nazism was the same Pope who inveighed against the "fetishes of Liberalism," and in both attitudes he was perfectly consistent. In his formulation of that first essential of a Christian polity, a proper synthesis between liberty and order, just as he declined to identify order with Fascist state-worship, so too he declined to identify liberty with Liberalism.

How will the future historian judge his policy? On the purely human side he will doubtless find miscalculations of men and events. Pius XI's experience of international diplomacy before he attained the tiara was brief and rather one-sided, and I think there is much force in the criticism that his three years as Nuncio in Warsaw led him to exaggerate at first the practical (as opposed to the spiritual) menace of

Communism and to underestimate the dangers that threatened European civilisation and peace from the other forms of totalitarianism. Despite all his native shrewdness he had not the sure political instinct of Leo XIII and Benedict XV, both of whom had graduated in the *carriera*. Yet whatever be the criticisms of detail, there is one quality which I believe will be unanimously recognised to this Pope and his policy—the quality of heroism. When Cardinal Hinsley called him " the greatest Pope since Hildebrand " he was surely thinking of this heroic quality. In the interval there have been other Popes more successful, more saintly, more worldly-wise, but none so fearless, so utterly regardless of the consequences when the rights of the Church and the spirit were challenged. And his was the highest type of heroism, born not of rashness or sudden enthusiasms, but of intense deliberation and still more intense prayer. He always counted the cost beforehand, but the cost never deterred him from action, and this gave his final decision a strange, at times almost a terrifying grandeur. In 1929, in a speech to the Italian deputies on the Lateran agreements, Mussolini had insisted that the Concordat could and would be altered without affecting the political treaty. The Pope's reply was typical : " *Simul stabunt aut simul cadent*, and if in consequence the Vatican City and State should perish, for Our part, with God's help, *impavidum ferient ruinae*."

The same dauntless courage is found in all the other major activities of his Pontificate. He was incapable of taking the small way or the " safe " way. When the *Action Française* crisis came to a head in 1926 there were many prudent counsellors to advise caution, pointing to the support accorded to the movement by some of the French clergy, and even hinting at the danger of a schism. He condemned it root and branch, faced the incipient revolt frankly and fearlessly, crushed it, and gave new hope to all who were working for the revival of religion among the French masses. Similarly in the Malta dispute, despite the diffident attitude of the Catholic press in England and the numerous suggestions for a compromise, he took a firm stand, and today the few Englishmen who have

not forgotten the incident are anything but proud of their government's handling of it.

But it is in his relations with the totalitarian powers that the heroic quality has been at once most needed and most evident. The Lateran agreements may be open to criticism in matters of detail; taken as a whole they constitute a monument to his vision and courage. In the territorial settlement he threw over the last shreds of "temporalism," taking even less than Mussolini had offered, but on what he regarded as the essential point, the sovereign independence and supranational character of the Papacy, he was, according to Signor Pacelli's account, utterly intransigeant—ready to "cavil on the ninth part of a hair." Two years later, when the organised campaign against the independence of Catholic Action was launched, the Pope was implored by some influential Italian Catholics (not all of them laymen) to mitigate the vigour of his denunciations lest the religious settlement achieved in the Concordat be completely wrecked. Instead, he wrote with his own hand and published to the world the famous Encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno*, perhaps the most uncompromising document of his Pontificate, in which the "statolatry" of the Dictator and his party was exposed and condemned. Even his staunchest supporters were dismayed by this extreme step, and at least a few of those to whom the Encyclical was addressed, the Italian hierarchy, must have read it with considerable trepidation. Yet what happened? The religious settlement was not wrecked; on the contrary, the Fascist campaign of violence was suspended, and within a few weeks a settlement was reached in which the Pope achieved his main object, the continued existence of Catholic Action outside the control of the totalitarian state. *Dem Muthigen hilft Gott.*

"A true Italian" Mussolini had called him when paying tribute to his generous attitude on the settlement of the Roman Question. Still, while he loved every inch of the land that bore him and never hesitated to proclaim his love, the universality of the Church's mission transcended all national considerations. He was first and foremost a true Roman, "born for the universe." Nowhere is this more clearly shown

than in his condemnation of the racialist policy of Fascism, and nowhere is the heroic quality in him more luminous than in this final struggle. Had he chosen to remain silent, he could well have done so on the ground that the technical breach of the Concordat involved in some of the recent Fascist decrees was insignificant from the practical point of view. The Church has always discouraged marriages between Catholics and unconverted Jews, and the necessary dispensation is very difficult to obtain; hence such marriages are extremely rare in Italy. Further, the Vatican in the past has suffered much at the hands of Italian Jewry, and Pius XI himself must have retained vivid memories of the insults hurled at Pope and Church by Ernesto Nathan, Jewish mayor of Rome and Grand Master of Italian Freemasonry, in the palmy days of the *mangiapreti*. Yet he did not hesitate. The "grave and gross error of racialism" was condemned in a series of addresses which showed that bodily infirmity had accentuated rather than decreased his mental vigour and clarity. In those last days, as he pleaded in the name of Christianity the cause of the persecuted Jews, undeterred by the threats and insults of the extreme Fascist press, he seemed the living embodiment of the charity of Christ.

It is unnecessary to describe his challenge to Nazi Germany, grown more powerful and more pagan every year, for it has received world-wide publicity. In the great Encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* he opposed to the totalitarian creed the "eternal truth" that "man as an individual has his God-given rights;" and the hatred of the Nazi leaders for him (a hatred which was not even momentarily silenced by his death) is the clearest proof of his moral influence in the world. Less known in this country are his pronouncements on the Spanish civil war, and here again he showed himself incapable of a mental reservation: he had to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth. He made it perfectly clear that he hoped and prayed for the success of General Franco, for the survival of religion in Spain was dependent on his victory. Prudence might have bade him stop there. But he knew that the struggle was not purely a religious one; he knew that some

of Franco's most influential supporters, the Falangists, were pledged to a programme strongly influenced by Nazism; he knew also that Franco's German and Italian allies were fighting for their own hand and not for the salvation of religion in Spain. Addressing an audience of refugees from the Red terror in September 1936, he spoke out his whole mind. Having praised and blessed those who were defending "the rights of God and religion," he went on to warn them that "intentions less pure, selfish interests and mere party feeling may easily enter into, cloud and change the morality of what is being done." And he ended with a singularly moving reference to "the others," those others who had massacred priests, burned churches, and proscribed religion, "and yet remain and always will remain Our children." "We have never doubted," he said, "and we cannot doubt for a single instant what We have to do: to love them, to love them with a special love born of pity and compassion; to love them, and since We cannot do more, to pray for them; to pray that they may come back to the father who awaits them and for whom their return will be an occasion of the truest joy." If the rulers of the new Spain show even a fraction of this noble charity towards their enemies, then that sorely tried nation may at last find "the peace of Christ in the reign of Christ."

This was the motto chosen by Pius XI at the outset of his Pontificate, and the story of his unceasing efforts to realise it in the political, social, and economic world is too well known to need repetition here. In all his public pronouncements—from the first Encyclical in 1922 down to the final gasping utterance of his dying lips—the word peace constantly recurs. Those who heard his broadcast during the crisis of last September, when "the afflicted and weary labourer" offered his life for the saving of peace, will have realized how passionately he pursued this cause. But he did not content himself with denunciations of the "homicide and suicide" of war; he did not merely pray with the Psalmist *Dissipa gentes quae bellum volunt.* Here too he spoke his full mind, pointing out that the greatest danger of war comes from "the curse of exaggerated Nationalism." How many times did he not

warn his flock to be on their guard against this curse ? Here in Ireland we talk much of the Pope's teaching on social and economic matters, but a discreet silence is usually observed on this aspect of it. Yet has any aspect more relevance for our nation and our time ?

It has been hinted in some quarters that Pius XI was a difficult and exacting chief. I can well believe it. Heroes have rarely been comfortable people to live with : they set and demand a standard which the average man, just because he is unable to attain it, is inclined to regard as unreasonably high. But though they may at times be hard on others, they are always hardest on themselves. The late Pope was such a man : physical suffering, disappointment, misrepresentation —all were powerless to crush that dauntless spirit or even to halt it for a second on the path of duty. Almost his last words in public were an assurance of his willingness to labour on to the end : *Non recuso laborem.* If to some he appeared cold and aloof, it was because, like all men cast in heroic mould, he had to dwell on a lonely height. His well-known feats of mountaineering, his love of the high places and their solitude, offer a key to much of his character. In things of the spirit too he was the supreme alpinist, intrepid and solitary ; and now that he has scaled the final summit, we who follow in the plains are ill-equipped to measure his greatness. We can only glory in his life, his witness, and his example, and thank God for every remembrance of him.

D. A. Binchy

POPE PIUS XI : THE SCHOLAR

BY REV. JOHN RYAN, S.J., D.LITT.

IN his well-known *Life of Pius XI* Father Philip Hughes suggests that, from the cultural standpoint, the late Pope had no peer since the days of Pope Nicholas V (1447-55). There was undoubtedly much similarity between the temperaments and the careers of the two Pontiffs. Nicholas V was the son of a poor village doctor from the northern Italian coast. Thanks to gifts of intellect and character he succeeded in taking a Master's degree in Theology at the University of Bologna. Entering the service of the bishop of that city, he remained in the humble position of confidential secretary for more than twenty years. Called to assist in the reunion discussions with the Greeks, his scholarship attracted notice and he was made an Apostolic Vice-Camerarius. Soon after the death of his patron he was himself promoted to the bishopric of Bologna. Unable to take possession of his see because of a revolt within the city, he was sent on missions to Germany and there displayed a talent for diplomacy so conspicuous that he was rewarded with a Cardinal's hat. A few months later he was elected Pope. Thus within three years he rose from relative poverty and obscurity to the highest dignity in Christendom. The analogy in the case of Pope Pius XI does not need to be stressed.

Nicholas V was a man of outstanding personal piety and a tireless worker in the cause of peace. Not on this, however, but on his wide intellectual sympathies, befitting " the first Pope of the Renaissance," rests his claim to a special niche in the temple of fame. He was a patron of the arts and sciences ; but, before all things else, he was a lover of books. His scanty savings, as an impecunious young priest, were spent entirely on these. Wherever he journeyed he ransacked houses and libraries in the quest for fresh treasures. As often as not he returned to Italy heavily laden with such spoils. Among

bibliographers and collectors his prestige was immense. Indeed, it was a patent fact that his talent lay in this direction rather than in that of scholarship properly so called. When as Pope he found himself possessed of ample resources, his patronage of architects, painters and the rest was generous to the point of legend. The new Vatican Library, which he stocked with manuscripts and copies of manuscripts from a score of countries, made Rome once more a great centre of learning. Here, again, the extent to which the interests of Achille Ratti coincided with those of the cultured Renaissance Pontiff is truly striking.

In Italy, however, the Vatican Library is not the only institution of its kind to rival such great libraries as the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the Bodleian at Oxford and the old Hofbibliothek at Vienna. That honour can also be claimed by the Ambrosian Library at Milan, which was founded by Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, cousin of the celebrated St. Charles, in 1609. The splendour of the Cardinal's undertaking almost takes one's breath away. Eight of the ablest scholars of the epoch were commissioned by him to visit France, Spain, Germany, Greece, Syria and Palestine for the purchase of codices and books. They collected in due course some 30,000 printed volumes and some thousands of manuscripts. The Library thus formed was to be administered by a college of doctors, nine in number (later, through lack of funds, reduced to two), who would themselves be eminent in various branches of learning. Intimate relations were to be maintained with the academies and the scholars of Europe. The most generous facilities for study (down to the pens, ink and paper needed for notes) were to be provided for visitors. At a time when the great majority of libraries were still private, the Ambrosian, like the Vatican, was public in the fullest sense.

To the higher staff of this Milan Library Don Achille Ratti was called at the age of thirty-one. In the centuries since the founder's death the Ambrosian, thanks to frequent acquisitions of books and manuscripts, had grown steadily in importance. In 1910 the collection of printed volumes alone

had passed the 200,000 mark. Progress in means of transport had brought the library within easy reach of scholars, who year by year come from every quarter of the globe to profit by its riches. After two decades of service Don Achille rose to be Prefect of the Ambrosian. Seven years later he was called to Rome to fill a similar post in the Vatican Library. For three-and-a-half years he held that position with distinction —and then, at the age of 61, he became Pope. In the blaze of light that plays so uninterruptedly on the papal throne we are prone to forget that for a whole generation—covering the years that were physically the best of his life—his days were spent in the monastic quiet of libraries.

No position could have harmonized better with his tastes. Of a naturally kind and courteous disposition, he delighted in placing his knowledge and his time at the disposal of others. Hundreds of visitors, from all the scholarly institutions of the world, were helped by him during the thirty years of his activity as librarian. But duty demanded that he should be less a technician than a savant, and every hour which he could conscientiously regard as free was given to study. As an energetic young priest he had applied himself ardently to the mastery of the chief modern languages. His French was something more than *très convenable*; his German such that he could preach each Lent to German workmen in the industrial quarter of Milan; his English correct and elegant and, in his old age, even fluent—as Mr. Chamberlain and his suite noted with surprise when he addressed them last January. With his doctorates in philosophy, theology and Canon Law, his robust health, his imperturbable good humour, his daily contacts with the erudite, his home in a library well stocked with volumes and journals, he was admirably equipped to take a place in the foremost line of modern scholarship.

The subject of his predilection was history; and in that, accordingly, his chief work was done. In his case, however, history was a term of wide significance, embracing a variety of interests—hagiographical, biographical, bibliographical, political, artistic, literary, liturgical, archaeological.

To illustrate the wide expanse over which his intellect

ranged we may take his writings on the city and territory of Milan, the region which had witnessed his birth and which remained to the end particularly dear to his heart. Its history went back to the later days of the Roman Empire, when its challenge was felt in the Eternal City itself. From that time forward it continued to play an important part in the life of the peninsula. Overrun by Germanic invaders it gradually recovered. It led the Lombard cities in their resistance to Barbarossa and Frederick II and won communal freedom in the eleventh century. It became a political storm-centre in the north under its able rulers, the Visconti, until their power was broken violently by the French at the end of the fifteenth century. It became the seat of Spanish and then of Austrian administration—and was still, after an interlude of French occupation in the Revolutionary era, a possession of the Hapsburgs when Achille Ratti was born. To write the history of Milan was to write local history, but local history on a grand scale. And the golden thread, the thing permanent and apparently indefectible, that held the beads of the centuries together was the Church in the city.

To his research in this field we owe one bulky work from Don Achille Ratti's pen. It bears as title *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis ab eius initiis usque ad nostram aetatem.* The first volume appeared in 1890; the second in 1892; the third in 1897. They contain in all some 2,200 pages. The second volume merited the honour of a letter of commendation from Pope Leo XIII. A fourth volume, to cover the period from the origins of the Church in Milan to the pontificate of St. Charles Borromeo, was begun in 1902. An immense number of documents from the archives and the libraries of Italy were examined and transcribed; but, owing to the author's growing preoccupation with other tasks, the work so well begun could not be brought to completion. Don Achille had thus to rest content with the knowledge that his industrious exertions would one day lighten the labour of another scholar.

The future Pope took his share in the preparation of another large volume: *Missale Ambrosianum Duplex.* The reference, of course, is to the special rite, different in many respects

from that of Rome, which was transmitted as an inheritance in the Church of Milan. Though the rite bears the name of St. Ambrose, it was certainly not introduced by him, for it represents the ordinary usage at Milan long before his day. Some characteristics of the rite may be mentioned. Lent begins, not on Ash Wednesday, but on the following Sunday; Advent has six instead of the usual four weeks; baptism is by immersion, not by infusion; the celebrant during Mass never turns towards the congregation; and during Mass and the Divine Office there is a great variety of lections, hymns and chants. The Ambrosian Missal, though influenced largely in time by its powerful Roman counterpart, still retains a multitude of peculiarities. Monsignor Ceriani, Prefect of the Ambrosian Library, had long been working on a new edition of its two most important texts, but had died before the task was finished. His disciple and successor, now Monsignor Ratti, aided by a Canon of the cathedral church, in pious memory of the deceased scholar, completed his work and saw it through the press. Its vast critical apparatus makes it of exceptional value to students of liturgy.

Smaller treatises by the future Pope on the ecclesiastical history of Milan are almost too numerous to mention. In the spring of 1896 he read before the Circolo Filologico Milanese a long and most comprehensive paper on the Ambrosian Church. When an Eucharistic Congress was held in the northern metropolis he contributed an elaborate essay entitled "Contribution to the Eucharistic History of Milan," which was published in *La Scuola Catolica e la Scienza Italiana*. When a Latin inscription of the first century A.D. was unearthed, he deciphered and translated the words and published the results with a learned commentary. Two fifteenth century plans of Milan, discovered by him in a manuscript of the Vatican Library, were likewise given to the public. From the same source he transcribed and edited, with adequate critical notes, a thirteenth century manuscript containing the names of two thousand citizens of Milan. Among the *Instrumenta Miscellanea* of the Vatican Archives he found and edited the account written by two Legates of their mission

from Pope John XXII to establish peace between Guelphs and Ghibellines in the Lombardy of 1317. In richly annotated monographs he described the ancient mosaic of the Chapel of San Satiro in the Church of St. Ambrose; the doings of the first Council held at Milan; various events connected with the life of the mediæval archbishop Aribert; the origins of the House of Savoy, a dynasty which he had unfortunately to regard (till time and his own courage found a remedy) from two mutually antagonistic angles—that of the Italian patriot and that of the loyal churchman.

In the field of palæography his competence was recognized. From some fragments of papyrus he deciphered enough to learn that certain relics were derived from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Working then on the torn parchment which covered the little packets of relics, he discovered parts of the fourteenth Satire of Juvenal. On a small leaf of the Ottoboni collection in the Vatican he found a copy of the original preface to the Homilarium of Alanus of Farfa, dating from the period 750—800. Other discoveries of a similar kind show that he was quite at home in the European manuscripts of any school or century.

Don Achille Ratti held in special veneration the memory of the great archbishop and patron saint of Milan, St. Charles Borromeo. On the occasion of the third centenary of the Saint's canonization he founded a review called *San Carlo Borromeo*. It ran in twenty-six numbers from November, 1908, to December, 1910. To every issue he contributed an article (based extensively on material found in the Ambrosian Library) on the persons, the times, the contemporaries, the doings of St. Charles, as well as on things done in his honour. In one article there is published a letter of Galileo to Cardinal Federigo Borromeo; in another there is described the esteem in which St. Charles held the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius.

Dissertations on Petrarch, on Bonvesino de la Riva, on the poetry of Carlo Maggi, show that Achille Ratti had not neglected to cultivate a taste in literature. A pleasant sidelight on his interest in art is afforded by an essay, published in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for 1912, on Bernardino Luini's "Holy

Family," one of the principal treasures of the Ambrosian Gallery. The exquisite design of this picture is the work of Leonardo da Vinci, whose cartoon of the subject now forms part of the Burlington House collection. Admittedly beautiful as Luini's canvas is, it can scarcely be said to do justice to the superb lines of the cartoon, though this is a point which Monsignor Ratti was not prepared to concede. Reference is made incidentally in this paper to the fascination with which he watched the skilful hand of his friend Cavenaghi restoring the faded original ; and we may well imagine the joy with which he learnt of the Professor's success in saving from disintegration a yet more famous Milan picture, the " Last Supper " of Leonardo da Vinci. Nor does he fail to add a tribute of gratitude to Cardinal Federigo who, for purely aesthetic reasons and at considerable cost (" satis magno pondere auri emimus "), had acquired Luini's picture for the Ambrosian Gallery.

A *chef d'œuvre* of a different kind which rests in the Ambrosian Library is the *Codex Atlanticus* of da Vinci. The epithet *Atlanticus* is based on the stout proportions (804 pages) of the volume and on the vast range of the material with which it deals. A booklet on the subject was issued by the future Pope in 1907. He describes how the *Codex* was put together at Milan in 1507-9 by the sculptor Leone Leoni from various notebooks left by the author. Its importance lies in the evidence which it offers of the many-sided genius of Leonardo da Vinci. Architecture is represented by numerous plans of churches and designs of buildings and monuments ; painting by studies in perspective and observations on manner and technique ; art properly so called by sketches for landscapes, for the pictures of the Adoration of the Magi, of Beatrice d'Este and others ; industry by suggestions for street-paving, new methods of dealing with metals and so-forth ; mechanics by designs for engines of every description, including some for flying ; hydraulics by machines for raising water and by plans for navigable canals ; astronomy by comments on the movements of the earth ; military science by drawings for pieces of artillery and by

studies of fortifications. The manuscript is written from right to left, for Leonardo da Vinci was left-handed. When the English diarist John Evelyn visited the Ambrosian in 1646, he found a note in the Codex which claimed that King James I of England had tried to secure it in 1630. "By means of the *passe-partout* which is money" he had sought to obtain it, offering 1,000 Spanish doubloons (about £1,000), an enormous price for a single volume in that age. Doubt had been thrown on this offer, but Monsignor Ratti was able to show that it had really been made.

As became a professional librarian, Achille Ratti took a lively interest in every type of book. He prepared an up-to-date *Guide* to the whole Library and to the Gallery and Museum annexed. But the older and the more valuable the document, the stronger naturally was its claim upon his attention. His erudite notes on the *Liber Diurnus*, the ancient formulary of the Papal Chancery and in its original form earlier in date than Pope Gregory the Great, was favourably received by experts in bibliography.

To the same category belongs a study that brought him indirectly into contact with early Irish monasticism: his account of the last unhappy days of the Abbey of St. Columban at Bobbio. The catastrophe to which the ancient institution succumbed was destined to enrich the Ambrosian Library, for a large section of its most valuable manuscripts (among them the *Respublica* of Cicero discovered by Angelo Mai) are of Bobbio provenance. His paper on the subject, "Le ultime Vicende della Biblioteca e dell 'Archivio di S. Colombano di Bobbio," was published at Milan in 1901 and dedicated to a former master, esteemed as an "amante dei libri e dei buoni studii."

The author describes how, in August, 1900, he visited Bobbio, attracted by "the renown of its ancient abbey, the Monte Cassino of Northern Italy, especially from the 7th to 10th centuries." Above all, however, he was attracted by the memory of its library, "one of the longest in existence and of the most important known to history." Not only the Ambrosian, but the Vatican Library and the National

Library at Turin owe much of their glory to its scattered treasures. He visited the church of the old abbey, now defaced by rebuilding, and the crypt with its iron railing—" a veritable masterpiece of mediaeval art, within which lie the venerable tombs of St. Columban and his immediate successors." Of the library walls not a stone remained upon a stone. In the miniature archives of the local episcopal see he found the *procès verbal* of its liquidation by Napoleon's myrmidons. On the 21 fructidor, an 9 (September 7th, 1801) they had entered the library and made an inventory of its contents. On the 28 floréal, an 11 (May 18th, 1803), they sold off most of the stock by auction. A " citoyen Buthler " was the purchaser of 616 books, for which he paid the sum of 53 francs. He bought also " un rayon . . . ayant un pied brisé " for a further sum of 6 francs. Some manuscript fragments were sold for 21½ francs ; the sale of other material was postponed owing to intervention from Alessandria. In the whole sale both books and manuscripts were valued frankly as waste paper. Who Citizen Butler was Don Achille Ratti failed then to discover, but light on the problem has since been forthcoming. He was an Irish medical man, Edward Raymund Butler, who graduated at Pavia and practised at Stradella. His connection with the last sad scene in the history of the great monastery founded by his countryman was as fitting as it was probably fortuitous.

The distinguished librarian retained a vivid memory of his visit to Bobbio. When in 1923, in the presence of many illustrious Irishmen, clerical and lay, the fifteenth centenary of St. Columban's death was celebrated, Pope Pius XI sent the scholarly Cardinal Ehrle as Legate to the ceremony. In the mandate of appointment the work of St. Columban and of his compatriots in restoring Christian wisdom and civilization to various parts of Europe—" a tribute to their priestly merits and especially to Catholic Ireland "—is gratefully recognized.

It did not enter into Achille Ratti's purpose to recount what Irish manuscripts had already found their way from Bobbio to Milan. Chief among them were the Antiphonary

of Bangor (7th century) and the Commentary on the Psalms (8th century), with its old Irish glosses (9th century) of which a magnificent collotype facsimile was produced in 1936 by Dr. R. I. Best. A specially bound copy of this work, suitably inscribed, was very appropriately presented by the Irish Government to Pope Pius XI. It is known that this manuscript, with the Antiphonary and other documents, passed from Bobbio to the infant Ambrosian Library in 1606. They may originally have formed part of a gift of 29 codices presented by Dungal " principal of the Irish " to Bobbio in the 11th century.

As an example of Achille Ratti's thoroughness in method it may be remarked that the short paper just mentioned carries 36 valuable notes, many of them of considerable length. They show a perfect knowledge of the literature on the subject, both books and learned journals. Here, as always, the work is very much his own, the fruit of personal study pursued with an earnestness and honesty that are worthy of all praise. Here, too, as always, there was about his conclusions what, for lack of a better term, may be called an Anglo-Saxon sobriety. He was constitutionally incapable of being carried away by a theory, however fashionable, or of losing his view of the whole in a hypercritical attention to minutiae, as happens to so many Germans. Still less could he be carried away by the bright idea and the piquant phrase based on a sketchy survey of the sources, which is the pitfall that awaits so many Frenchmen. He gave as certain only what was certain ; what was probable or possible he propounded as such with never failing modesty and good sense.

There are those, no doubt, who will regret that he never became the specialist *à outrance* in any branch of learning. Had he done so, he might have left a name more enduring in the annals of intellectual endeavour. Much, however, of his best self would have been sacrificed in the process. His mind would have lost its suppleness by excessive concentration on a region rigidly delimited and defined. The admirable balance of his judgment might have slipped irretrievably to one or the other side. In the providence of God it was to be of moment

for the Church and for the world that the future Pope should preserve unimpaired his human and his priestly character. His work as chaplain at the Cenacle, where every morning he said Mass and exposed the Blessed Sacrament and returned at five to give Benediction; where every Wednesday he took a class in Apologetics and every Thursday a class in Christian Doctrine; where every first Sunday of the month he conducted a Day of Retreat for schoolmistresses, every second Sunday a similar Day for Children of Mary, and every third Sunday a like Day for girls and women of the working class; where he prepared hundreds of children for their First Communion; where year by year he preached every day during the month of Mary and the month of the Sacred Heart, not to speak of sermons and exhortations unnumbered to the community—his work, be it repeated, in this convent chapel alone suggests a sacerdotal zeal that could never find satisfaction in the field of scholarship alone. His devotion, again, to the administrative side of his office as librarian; his nostalgia for the eternal snows, his irrepressible mental curiosity (ranging, as it did, over the whole expanse of knowledge) connote a breadth of vision that would be a weakness rather than an asset in the dry-as-dust professional research worker of to-day. A scholar, indeed, he could be and was; but above the scholar stood the man of gentle heart, filled with tender human sympathy; and above the man stood the anointed priest whose one desire was to establish here on earth the rule of peace and love—that love divine which wells forth from its infinite fount, the Father who is in Heaven. From this combination of scholar and man and priest sprang the great Pope who was Pius XI.

JOHN RYAN

GLADSTONE AND IRELAND *

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

IT is possible to view the history of Ireland, during the past century and a half, as the working out in an un-English field of a characteristically English principle. In 1690 John Locke justified the glorious revolution of two years earlier by asserting the right to resistance by direct action against misuse of the powers of government. Whether or not his theory was philosophically sound, it was undoubtedly in harmony with the recent history of England and with the spirit which has inspired British constitutional development from his day till our own. Theorists who seek to set that development upon a basis of strict legality always come sooner or later upon the great fissure which renders legalistic continuity impossible. Resistance may be condemned as illegal, but it is none the less constitutional; it represents in fact the negative core of the whole system, which remains intractable when the positive outer layers are stripped away.

This implicit acknowledgment of the right to revolt has given English institutions their peculiar stability as expressing the political genius of the English people. Like other forms of political ideology, it is, however, of doubtful export value. When applied to countries entirely outside the British Empire, it proved itself, in the hands of English statesmen such as Canning and Palmerston, a terrible solvent of the older European order, founded on the very doctrines torn up in 1688. As it has worked itself out by its own force within the Empire, where English statesmen have naturally rather been its reluctant victims than its agents, it has kept the power and right of the British Parliament to govern non-British peoples subject to perpetual question. Indeed it may yet prove, in the long view, to be as great a solvent of Empire as it has

* *Gladstone and the Irish Nation.* By J. L. Hammond. (Longmans. 1938. 36s. net).
Gladstone. By Erich Eyck. (Allen and Unwin. 1938. 15s. net).
Parnell, Joseph Chamberlain, and Mr. Garvin. By Henry Harrison. (Robert Hale. 1938. 10s. 6d. net).

already proved itself to be of the European order. In the eighteenth century its operation lost the British Crown its finest colonies in America. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth it has performed an amputation still more drastic and touching nearer the vital centre: the overthrow of the settlement with Ireland in the shape of the Act of Union recommended in sonorous Virgilian hexameters to the House of Commons by William Pitt in 1800.

In the eyes of future historians the Treaty of London in 1921 may come to loom as large as the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. The earlier event, by acknowledging the independence of the United States, marked the end of the First British Empire. The later, less than a century and a quarter after Pitt's peroration, finally demonstrated the incapacity of the British Parliament to govern Ireland and thereby changed what had seemed, during the reigns of four sovereigns, the Second Empire's immutable character. Attempts to justify both the resistance of the American colonies and that of Ireland, by showing that Parliament had violated legality in its treatment of them, have constantly failed[1]—for the very reason that in both cases legality was irrelevant. It was by going outside it that the founders of the United States won their victory, and one of the causes which slowed down the progress of the Irish revolt was notoriously the doctrinaire pacifism of O'Connell. Ireland's grievances were no more of a legal character than those of America, and they were infinitely more pressing; but the difference in the time required for victory is easily explained by the vast difference in situation and resources between the two countries.

The struggle for Irish independence, which began after a short interval of quiescence following on the upheavals of 1798–1803, was undoubtedly inspired by the ideas of a section among the eighteenth century ascendancy, and these ideas were with equal certainty of almost entirely English origin. It is true that they acquired great additional strength from

[1] See *Parliament and the British Empire*, by Robert L. Schuyler (Columbia University Press, 1929), for a criticism of such attempts from that of Molyneux (*Case of Ireland Stated*) in 1698 to McIlwaine's application in 1923 of Molyneux's views to America.

their transplantation to Irish soil, fertilised by memories of an ancient culture and by vaguely-formed impulses to a separate political as well as social system. The defeat of Charles Edward in 1745 was almost a greater blow to Gaelic Ireland than to Gaelic Scotland, and one of its ultimate results was that coalescence between the "old inhabitants of the island" and the dissident Anglo-Irish which has produced the modern complex English-speaking Irish nation. The Union, designed to safeguard both Imperial interests and the interests of the loyal section among the ascendancy, was a failure almost from the start. Its collapse was delayed by many causes, some purely personal and accidental, but chiefly by an English political tendency which is in a sense the corollary to the constitutional right of rebellion : the tendency to yield only to overwhelming pressure backed by the threat or the actual exercise of force. Catholic Emancipation was granted in response to a half-formulated threat. In order to destroy the Union settlement, the maximum force was naturally required ; and owing partly to the innate pacifism of the Irish and partly to a series of strange chances, the pressure had to be raised to its highest intensity not once but many times—and even at the last was only partially effective.

Nevertheless it was obvious to almost any but the blindest partisan that the issue was decided long before the final and most violent phases of the struggle. From 1886 to 1916 Irish nationalism, while deepening its roots and strengthening its fibre by means of Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League, and the Literary Renaissance, was only waiting the hour to make its last push upward to full political stature. The defeat of the two Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893, if English statesman could have only realised it, had merely made inevitable larger and more insistent demands at some future date, and nothing could have been more senseless than the attempt, from 1912 to 1920, to repeat the tactics which a generation earlier had been apparently successful but really disastrous. The failure of the Union, the incompetence of the British Parliament to govern Ireland, was first demonstrated and proclaimed in 1886. Only the most elementary lack of knowledge, vision,

or even ordinary prudence, can explain the long-continued English effort to impart a feeble semblance of vitality to a system which the whole world knew to be dead. The one statesman of first rank who saw the truth and acted upon it was Gladstone; and the Treaty of 1921 was as much a monument—which would have horrified himself—to his statesmanship as were the abortive Bills by which he had tried so long before to anticipate and prevent what he would surely have lamented as a bitter tragedy.

The simultaneous appearance of Mr. Hammond's impressive study and of Dr. Eyck's objective and very readable biography enables us to enter more fully than has yet been possible into the development of Gladstone's Irish policy and its relation to the complex evolution of his sinuous and many-sided personality. Perhaps the highest compliment that can be paid to Mr. Hammond's work is the statement of one's impression that he shows here the same wide sweep of knowledge and sympathy, the same skill in the marshalling of multitudinous detail, the same sensitive sympathy and the same nobility of style as in his classic studies of English social history. His object is at once to explain the growth of Gladstone's almost religious devotion to Ireland's cause as he understood it, to examine the reasons for his failure, and to elicit Irish sympathy as well as English understanding for a man whose services to both countries were almost equally great, and who might have stood forth as the maker of a new, more real bond between them had not the forces against him been too powerful and his time too short. In this multiple task Mr. Hammond has succeeded to such a point that his work is sure to rank as a classic of historical exposition, not only for English but for Irish students, in spite of the fact that circumstances have so irrevocably nullified Gladstone's policy. Dr. Eyck performs the great service of giving us with cool and skilful brevity and yet with much well-applied variety of illustration, the long perspective of the career which ripened Gladstone, all too late, for his Irish tasks. Here and there his orderly narrative enables us to see some of Mr. Hammond's argument in a usefully different light.

The shorter work in which Captain Harrison expands, with fresh emphasis, part of his earlier authoritative vindication of Parnell serves as a sort of third drama in what, from the Irish point of view, is a tragic trilogy. As usual, the hero is changed, but the theme remains essentially the same, and here there is a sharpening of outline, a deepening of shadow as compared with the other books. Captain Harrison's purpose is to convict Mr. Garvin, Chamberlain's distinguished biographer, of what amounts to decided partiality, and neglect, if not deliberate suppression, of evidence which tells strongly against his hero and in favour of Parnell. Presenting the reader with numerous photographs of essential documents, he establishes a very strong case for his conclusion that Chamberlain was not only behind the famous *Times* attack, by way of the Pigott forgeries, on Parnell, but also the moving agent in O'Shea's decision to apply for a divorce and therefore in Parnell's political ruin. Since the appearance of this book Mr. Garvin has published a reply to its charges in the *Observer*[1] of which he is editor. His reply is, however, more assertive and exclamatory than convincing; and although there is more to be said, in explanation rather than in justification, of Chamberlain's actions than Captain Harrison perhaps will allow, it will take much new evidence to clear him of having gone to extreme lengths to satisfy his political rancour. It is to be hoped that the new evidence will take the form of an extensive or indeed a complete publication of Chamberlain's letters and papers. As the case now stands, an ounce of fresh documentation is worth a ton of advocacy; and history surely calls, at this distance of time, for the whole truth, whatever its effect on reputations may ultimately be.

The Irish tragedy was only secondarily Gladstone's, but he had in his own character one at least of the elements to be found in that of a Sophoclean hero. As one reads Mr. Hammond's pages, one cannot help being struck again and again by Gladstone's peculiar isolation of intellect and temperament, to which indeed they explicitly draw one's attention. This quality was most marked in relation to Ireland, where

[1] August 21, 1938.

circumstances came to meet it in creating the tragic effect. Like Ajax or Oedipus, he stood apart from his fellows, understood fully by scarcely any of them, battling desperately against a threatening doom which he foresaw and whose causes he understood when they were hidden from almost everyone else. He made his Irish effort with magnificent conviction and with heroic power, but he made it years too late when great obstacles, whose growth he could have done much to prevent, stood in his way. Although he knew far more of Irish history than did Parnell, whose ignorance in that respect appears to have been phenomenal, he visited this country only once, in 1877, and then only stayed for about three weeks. His excursion " did not extend beyond a very English Pale," says Morley, and his hosts were mostly prominent Whigs or officials ; yet what he saw " made a deep impression on me," as he told the Dublin Corporation, " and has enabled me the better to understand the intense feeling with which an Irishman loves his country." Mr. Hammond's judgment that if the two men had lived in the early years of the twentieth century, it would have been Gladstone and not Parnell who would have been attracted by the Irish literary renaissance, only makes the slightness of his acquaintance with Irish realities the more regrettable.

Another misfortune which was, if only too natural, equally disastrous, lay in his very peculiar history and its subtle effect on the formation of his mind. It has long been a commonplace that there were " two Mr. Gladstones," and many of his contemporaries found reason to accuse him of being more multifarious than merely dual in number. Mr. Hammond shows us how large a part in his personality was played by his profound sense of European unity. It was this more than anything else that at last drew his attention to Ireland, after he had expended it so vainly on King Bomba's prisons. It was closely allied with his religiosity. He said himself that he owed little to living teachers, but enormously to four dead ones, who are named for us by Morley : Aristotle, Augustine, Dante, Butler. To these four should surely be added Homer. Mr. Hammond is probably the first for many years to have

extracted something of value from the three enormous volumes of *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* which Gladstone published in 1858, and of which Jowett said that a man who discovered the doctrine of the Trinity in Homer must be crazy. In his youth a high Tory, opponent of the Reform Bill, and strong if rather incomprehensible defender of the Church Establishment, he became in his old age, as the result of a process partly due to events but partly spiritual, the leader and spokesman of Liberalism. It has been acutely said that his intricacy in expounding the stages of this transformation was derived from his early study of Aristotle. But his liberal principles, characteristically enough, were not derived from orthodox sources. He shared de Maistre's opinion "that contempt for Locke is the beginning of knowledge," and Mr. Hammond assures us that he owed little or nothing, consciously at least, to Bentham.

When we read the glowing chapters in which Mr. Hammond describes the European and universal sources and quality of his ideas, we feel that he is entitled to a higher place in the history of thought than any liberal leader except Burke. But he had another and very different side to his character, which Mr. Hammond perhaps passes over too easily, although assigning it great importance in regard to his record on Ireland. The creator, more than any other man, of the modern British Treasury system, he united with all this wide-ranging idealism the archetypal Treasury mind. "A peep into the Treasury was . . . . fatal to Gladstone's judgment . . . . All his noble enthusiasms were deflated in a cold, dry, unimaginative atmosphere of severity and public thrift." Behind this kink in his psychology there stretched a long record of thorough financial training, begun on his own estate at Hawarden, continued under Peel, and completed in the Budgets in which he carried into practice the teachings of the Utilitarian school. If he owed little to Bentham, he owed much to Adam Smith, to Bentham's disciple Ricardo, and to their joint disciple Peel, whose Tamworth Reading Room Address in 1841 had called forth Newman's classic attack on Utilitarianism. If Gladstone was a Liberal who had reached his principles by devious paths,

he began life as a Tory of a thoroughly unsatisfactory doctrinal type. This strange mixture of incompatible creeds, reflected in his often sophistical arguments, was not without its influence, both material and spiritual, on his approach at the end of his long life to the Irish problem. It seriously distracted his attention, affected the composition and therefore the effectiveness of his cabinets, and quite probably delayed his full apprehension of Ireland's real needs and demands.

What first drew his attention to Ireland was unquestionably the Fenian threat, which happened by a peculiar chance almost to coincide with his first term of office as Prime Minister. In this circumstance we find perhaps the most fatal of all examples of the English tendency only to recognise a grievance when it expresses itself in violence. Long before 1868 Gladstone had a European reputation as a Philhellene and a supporter of Italian unity ; but Ireland, so long as it was quiescent, though he was much more responsible for its condition and more powerful in its regard, seems to have made little impression on his mind. It is curious to find that a speech of his on Ireland in 1865 was criticised by the future Lord Salisbury as containing " principles that were too harsh and restrictive." When he did find himself face to face with the Irish problem, he approached it in a manner which goes to show that if he had Ireland in his heart, " he had in his brain " (to quote Mr. Hammond) " a disturbing element of England, and of Treasury England." Like Balfour after him, he convinced himself that the problem was one to be solved by the application of certain remedial measures which, great though they were, did not go near its fundamental causes. Concentrating on Church disestablishment and land reform, he postponed till he was too old the real decision that had sooner or later to be made, and found from his own experience that both concessions and their refusal only led to ever larger demands.

It is strange, too, that even when considering reforms that only touched the fringe of the Irish trouble, he did not extend their scope by paying heed in 1873 to the suggestions of Spencer and Hartington for the improvement of the railway system and the institution of local government. His own plans for

a new university and for converting the Viceroyalty into a ceremonial office to be held by the Prince of Wales were only half-heartedly pressed, and his first term as Premier thus ended with comparatively slight positive achievement to its credit as regard Ireland. Nevertheless he had done more than any English minister since Melbourne to put the whole complicated problem in a truer and juster light. At the election of 1874 he even used language which seemed to hint at the possibility of Home Rule and which he had a certain difficulty in explaining to his Whig colleagues. It is clear enough that his mind was more flexible when he was not in office. From 1874 to 1880 he was at first in retirement and afterwards engaged on his Bulgarian crusade. When he resumed power, another complex had arisen in his mind: his mission, as ten years before, was still "to pacify Ireland," but by this time he was conscious of his seventy years, and this consciousness led him to set a limit to his policies. After the passage of the Land Act of 1881—an Act whose sweeping terms he had not in the least contemplated a year earlier—he was inclined to regard further Irish reform as a task for his successors.

This great piece of legislation, described by Mr. Hammond as the most revolutionary measure of the century, was carried in an atmosphere of desperate urgency and, though it contained the germs of the settlement which only came to full fruit in the present generation, was to some extent marred by the tension which produced it. In order to overcome the intransigence of the landlords and their powerful English supporters, Irish pressure had to be applied at its fullest, and the resulting disorder and ill-feeling had many unfortunate effects. It prepared the way for the ultimate disappearance of the landlords and, with them, the old social system in Ireland; it brought into English politics a bitterness which was to poison them for a lifetime; and by arousing Gladstone's suspicion of Parnell's motives it postponed for years the understanding between the two men, which only grew at last in time to be shattered by the divorce case. At the same time the rise of Chamberlain and the first disappointment of his ambitions by an unappreciative Gladstone produced the first signs of the split which was to wreck Home Rule.

Gladstone's treatment of Chamberlain is discussed by Mr. Hammond with the fullness it deserves and in a spirit which keeps a middle course between Mr. Garvin's hero-worship and Captain Harrison's unsparing condemnation of the latter statesman. Chamberlain was a man of powerful character, a great political organiser with his mind always sensitive to the movement of electoral opinion, a ferocious opponent with a remarkable capacity for unrestrained invective. As in Gladstone's own case, his personality broke the bonds of party : he began life as a Radical of republican leanings, uneasy and the source of uneasiness in a Cabinet which contained too many Whigs of the old aristocratic school. What determined his fatal evolution into the Tory Jingo was in part his own domineering individualism, which chafed under the necessity of waiting for his chief's interminably-postponed retirement before he could take over the Liberal leadership, in part his unjustified rancour against Parnell, who seems to have treated him with distrust if not actual disdain ; but it was also partly his treatment by Gladstone himself. The latter, always rather the lonely prophet than the tactful party manager, while having a very clear judgment of other men, never knew how to handle them successfully, and his curious angularity in this respect lost him not only Chamberlain but probably Hartington and Bright as well. If he could have led his colleagues, or even chosen them, as dynamically and unerringly as he could marshal public opinion behind almost any cause he favoured, he would have carried Home Rule in spite of his advanced age and won his magnificent race with time.

As it was, Chamberlain destroyed the hope of an opportune appeasement, rendered inevitable a still more bitter struggle later on, and by grasping at the irresponsible expedient provided by Lord Randolph Churchill's decision to " play the Orange card " prepared the way for the policy of partition whose full possibilities for trouble between England and Ireland have perhaps not even yet been realised. In face of this multiple achievement and its still living consequences, the credit for which is his beyond yea or nay, his exact part in Parnell's personal tragedy, while by no means a question of no importance, is comparatively a minor one. It is curious

that, during his final desperate attempts to maintain his impossible position, Parnell should have concentrated so much of his invective upon the "grand old spider" and said so little about the man who made no secret of his hatred both of Parnell himself and of Ireland.

Gladstone's most obvious vindication is the Home Rule Bill which he carried through the House of Commons in 1893 at the age of eighty-four. There is plenty of room, in such an extraordinary set of circumstances, for speculation about what might have been. Had the Irish Party been more adroitly led immediately after the divorce and before the re-election of Parnell, had Dillon and O'Brien been able to come to England or Ireland, had Gladstone been a younger man, or had Parnell not so tragically succumbed to the hardships of his terrific Irish campaign—the whole story might have ended otherwise than in the partial victory of 1893, which only his age prevented Gladstone from bringing to completion. If Parnell could have been induced to retire temporarily, as he had offered to do with far less cause at the time of the Phoenix Park murders, the Home Rule movement might have suffered a brief set-back but only a brief one. If Parnell had not died when he did, he might well have recovered his ascendancy, but only at the cost of an even more terrible split in Ireland in which nationalism would have had to triumph over the Church, to the great disadvantage of both. If Gladstone had been twenty years younger, he would most certainly have carried Home Rule with all its beneficent consequences to both countries; but it is doubtful if in the eye of history he would have had a juster claim to the gratitude and admiration of Irishmen than his record of devoted effort, statesmanlike vision and triumphant ascendancy over what was best in the British character had already secured for him.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

W. B. YEATS

BY PROFESSOR J. J. HOGAN, M.A., B.LITT.

LAST week (January 28) died the first great poet of modern Ireland, the poet who will command our literature so long as we use the English tongue. He was great too in other literary fields : a fine prose-writer and critic, a dramatist and the chief creator of our theatre. He was perhaps also, though this cannot be said with certainty yet, a great public man and a principal shaper of our recent history. It is natural that we should be recalling his achievement and attempting to assess it. The pages following attempt this chiefly for his poetry.

I

Critical fashion has lately been finding fault with Yeats's early work ; critical fashion must always be changing, and the taste of the day is for another sort of poetry. But this will pass. Yeats's early poetry, or most of it, is safe ; his dream was true and beautiful for a long time before it became pose, and before he sought artificially to prolong it and medicated it into a phantasm. I said dream, but some of his first poems have nothing of dream about them. This country boy, like Wordsworth before him, aimed for a time at making poetry about the people in their own simple language ; perhaps he even thought of writing *for* the people. It has been said of Yeats that he did not know the people closely ; but *Moll Magee*, *Father O'Hart*, *The Old Pensioner* are there to disprove it. Above all, in the *Ballad of Father Gilligan* he catches the very mind of the simple Catholic people. But most of his early work is remote from real life ; it is dream and music. Except Shelley and the Elizabethans, what poet in English has distilled the essence of joy and melancholy so purely, so clear of objects and occasions, as he has in *The Stolen Child*, *King Goll*, *The Happy Townland*—and in that *Faery Song* where the words tell of joy, the music of sorrow :—

> We who are old, old and gay,
> Oh so old !
> Thousands of years, thousands of years,
> If all were told.

What is real in these poems is sudden and rapid perceptions of eye and ear, which delicately weave Sligo about us as we read: flapping herons, birds in the white of the air, mice in the barley sheaves, the moth hour of eve, mouse-grey water, dim sands, beech leaves rustling, the creak of the creel in the cart.

Yeats was a natural symbolist before he was a doctrinaire one, and in early poems, like the perfect *Song of Wandering Aengus* (the infinitely desperate and hopeful pursuit of youth's unattainable dream) or *The Old Men Admiring Themselves in the Water*, he conveys through natural analogies his keen and vague apprehension of reality yet to be experienced.

> They had hands like claws, and their knees
> Were twisted like the old thorn trees
> By the waters.

Fairy lore, local and from books, supplied further symbol and metaphor to a poetry of suggestion which is Celtic in demanding the suspension of disbelief to a degree other poets do not ask for.

Love poems are the first that tell of real life. Some of these, still, are dreams: as *The Pity of Love*, *When You Are Old*, and that quintessence of unworldly sensitiveness, *Cloths of Heaven—Tread softly because you tread on my dreams*. But a few come from real experience and show the poet awakening to contact with human beings. *The Folly of being Comforted* is such a poem—the poem of a moment of personal life isolated and made eternal, of which Yeats was to write so many and for which he is almost comparable to Goethe.

The early long poems and plays, *Usheen* (1889) and *The Land of Heart's Desire* (1894), are of the dream-stuff of the early poems. In *The Shadowy Waters* (1900) we feel the difference from the earlier plays, that the dream is not free but trance-like. It is coming to be time for the poet to rouse himself and meet the real world, but he prefers to go on dreaming. And, resenting the world, he sets up as the chosen ones those who do not belong to it: fools, children, old men, blind men, poets. *The King's Threshold* is an unreasonable, arrogant claim for poets: we remember how lightly one of the great

of them, Shakespeare, treated his kind in *his* mimic world. Supermen, strangely combined from the heroes of Ferguson and the translators of Irish saga, Nietzschean ideas, and Ascendancy pride begin to strut and fret on Yeats's stage and overbear common humanity. Yeats comes to resemble, however remotely, D'Annunzio, the great poet of insolence, cruelty and lust—the prophet, incidentally, of certain current philosophies of life. As with D'Annunzio too, Yeats's heroism and violence have their negative pole of decadence and renunciation; they rise above the real, and when that fails, they refuse to be content with what lies solidly below and prefer nothingness. *Deirdre*, fine as it is in many ways, is too little a human tragedy and too much an aristocratic one; hero and heroine die on a point of glory and fitness, and posture overmuch, making their death a gesture against mere life. Yeats temporarily accepted the fashionable idea that living should be left to the servants.

Some of the shorter poems express the same false ideas and values. An ambitious symbolism, for example in the poem beginning *Do you not hear me calling, white deer with no horns?* conceals a lack of true feeling and matter. Certain words are repeated as if they were charms that of themselves and automatically compelled poetry—*the host*, *Danaan*, *Rosicross*. Yeats, unwilling to meet the real world, was conjuring up for adoration and celebration a false supernatural. Mr. Eliot has well said (though he applies his words more generally than he ought to) that it was "a wrong supernatural world. Not a world of spiritual significance, of real Good and Evil, of holiness or sin, but a highly sophisticated lower mythology summoned, like a physician, to supply the fading pulse of poetry with some transient stimulant so that the dying patient may utter his last words."

But then Yeats, to the surprise and short-sighted distress of those who loved his dreaming, roused himself and flung aside those dreams and their heavy coat of embroidered mythological splendour—*For there's more enterprise in walking naked.* In certain prose vision-books, Yeats went on weaving clouds of dream; but, once for all, the clouds lifted from his verse.

When, long afterwards, he again writes of the supernatural, it is with the support at least of a life's experience.

II

Yeats's second period, then, began when (about 1910) he left off genuine dreaming, and also pretence, and roused himself to himself. He found a personality awaiting expression, a personality with many narrownesses and dangerously isolated from social, religious, philosophic contacts of any large sort, yet strong and within its limits rich. His poetry henceforth will be the criticism of life of an individualist and an Anglo-Irishman; but he will always be liable to be excited by the larger Ireland not fully his own—either to disgust and satire or to extreme and mystical patriotism.

Yeats is now no longer a literary poet. Nor is he a philosophic one. He is a poet directly representing real and active life; what scarcely any English poet has been since Sidney, except the neo-classical school, whose values and method are altogether different. As Sidney was an English courtier and soldier turned poet, one whose verses kept time with his horse's hoof-beats, so is Yeats an Anglo-Irish gentleman turned poet, and his verses too keep time with outdoor and active life. Yeats is Sir Lucius O'Trigger, and Jack Hinton, and Jonah Barrington, and Buck Whalley, rising at last to poetry, as it were in their swan-song. His code is to praise pride of family, boldness in war and sport, carelessness of cost, the ready meeting of pain and death; and when he adds fine taste and manners, ceremony and the arts, he is still in an eighteenth century tradition, though one less strong and universal in eighteenth century Ireland than the others. He despises the bourgeois and their virtues and all moderation; the hand he honours will be open though it be empty. Rebels and beggars are worth a song, for they have the wasteful virtues, but for Paudeen in his shop there is only a sneer; not O'Rahilly himself has flouted the *boddagh* with such gusto. The problem of conduct and morality is simple to Yeats at this time; a gentleman need but obey the impulse of good blood and follow the code which is his by tradition.

From this Yeats we have a host of pictures of the tense and fine moments of life—the heady running of horses at Galway (a poem like one of his brother's pictures), the meet under Ben Bulben, where rides a woman who "seemed to have grown clean and sweet, like any rock-bred, sea-borne bird," the casting of a fly in a mountain stream in the grey of dawn, the airman among the clouds, borne to his death by "a lonely impulse of delight." We have richly etched likenesses of his friends, their characters, manners, houses—all fitting together to make the picture of a life that he first defends, often angrily and aggressively, and later regrets, for it has been a vanishing thing—*We the great gazebo built, They convicted us of guilt.*

> There Hyde before he had beaten into prose
> That noble blade the Muses buckled on,
> There one that ruffled in a manly pose
> For all his timid heart, there that slow man,
> That meditative man, John Synge, and those
> Impetuous men, Shaw Taylor and Hugh Lane,
> Found pride established in humility,
> A scene well set and excellent company.

Thus did the poet who early declared that poetry could not be a criticism of life, that it must be the revelation of another life, answer himself. Perhaps the best picture of his human ideal is the poem *In Memory of Major Robert Gregory:*

> When with the Galway foxhounds he would ride
> From Castle Taylor to the Roxborough side
> Or Esserkelly plain, few kept his pace;
> At Mooneen he had leaped a place
> So perilous that half the astonished meet
> Had shut their eyes; and where was it
> He rode a race without a bit?
> And yet his mind outran the horses' feet.
>
> We dreamed that a great painter had been born
> To cold Clare rock and Galway rock and thorn.
> To that stern colour and that delicate line
> That are our secret discipline
> Wherein the gazing heart doubles her might.
> Soldier, scholar, horseman, he,
> And yet he had the intensity
> To have published all to be a world's delight.

That discipline of style Yeats gradually laid upon himself in his second period. It is a natural style in that it is colloquial and local, being made of the English of Ireland; but it is nature proudly restrained, as remote from commonness as it is from mere ornament or polish. The poet's, as he says, is a sedentary trade. He will do his duty by it, but not be subdued by it; and, though he labours with his art as few have done, he keeps the impulsive freedom of the amateur. The price, though, of not fully surrendering to art has to be paid. Yeats never loses his personality in his work; and the reader can never forget the poet and himself and be rapt out of time and place. W. B. Yeats is always by and in his pose, whether it be or be not a fine and true one.

But perhaps this incapacity of self-forgetfulness is chiefly due to a Yeatsian tenet I have not yet mentioned: the view that life is above all an art. Good blood must act in a great tradition. The concept is mingled of late nineteenth century aestheticism and the more permanent and natural aristocratic code of fitness; it is strengthened by a lack of belief in supernatural sanctions. Love, for example, should be an art. Beauty is art. Women must *labour to be beautiful*, for it is their aristocratic duty. He praises as a fine thing a woman's retiring from the world when she was beautiful no longer. Women of his class must keep their rôle and guard their peculiar nature and heritage; they must not *conspire among the ignorant*, nor let *some popular enmity* become their thought. Subtle and wise, though not free from a tinge of the artificial attitude that stiffens his earlier ideal in *Deirdre*, are the verses *For his Daughter*:—

> May she become a flourishing hidden tree
> That all her thoughts may like the linnet be,
> And have no business but dispensing round
> Their magnanimities of sound,
> Nor but in merriment begin a chase,
> Nor but in merriment begin a quarrel.
> O may she live like some green laurel
> Rooted in one dear perpetual place.

My mind, because the minds that I have loved,
The sort of beauty that I have approved,
Prosper but little, has dried up of late,
Yet knows that to be choked with hate
May well be of all evil chances chief.
If there's no hatred in a mind
Assault and battery of the wind
Can never tear the linnet from the leaf

The moral is *never give all the heart*, for if you do you must fail in the art of life. Yeats has taken it to himself no less than his contrary maxim of living dangerously.

Yeats is specially the poet of the Anglo-Irish. But he has lived in Ireland and taken part in every Irish cause and quarrel for nearly forty years. He has fallen in with nationalist movements, and has fallen out with them and lashed them from the Anglo-Irish, the planter's, side. He sided with the agitators for land division, but admonished them scornfully when they shook a great house :

Although
Mean roof-trees were the sturdier for its fall,
How should their luck run high enough to reach
The gifts that govern men, and after these
To gradual Time's last gift, a written speech
Wrought of high laughter, loveliness and ease ?

In a sharper vein he addresses " A wealthy man who promised a second subscription to the Dublin Municipal Gallery if it were proved the people wanted pictures " :

You gave, but will not give again
Until enough of Paudeen's pence
By Biddy's halfpennies have lain
To be " some sort of evidence,"
Before you'll put your guineas down,
That things it were a pride to give
Are what the blind and ignorant town
Imagines best to make it thrive.
What cared Duke Ercole, that bid
His mummers to the market place,
What th'onion-sellers thought or did
So that his Plautus set the pace
For the Italian comedies ? . . . .
Let Paudeens play at pitch and toss.

Yeats had in ample measure the heady, unreasonable anger to which we are prone and the cleverness we often have in it; he has even genius in it, like Burke and like Junius (who, whoever he was, was but too surely Irish). But whatever Yeats said of the people, let it be remembered that he worked for them (for example, if the arts ever flourish with us, it will be largely his doing) and, what is more, that he could accept rebuke for what he said of them. A woman whom he loved told him she never had complained of the people, nor would, and he answered defending himself:—

> And yet, because my heart leaped at her words,
> I was abashed, and now they come to mind
> After nine years, I sink my head abashed.

Yeats's politics are so simple as to be almost negative. Gradually he finds his heroes, those who in the eighteenth century stood for his class, lived simply and well, and hated the rancour and levelling of the Whigs—Swift, Berkeley, Goldsmith, Grattan, and Burke—

> And haughtier-headed Burke that proved the state a tree,
> That this unconquerable labyrinth of the birds, century after century,
> Cast but dead leaves to mathematical equality.

Burke would have liked that, though he would have known that it described only a part of him—which to Yeats was the whole.

Strangely, Yeats, who at one moment thinks that everything of value in Ireland is Anglo-Irish, and makes those heroes of Anglo-Ireland much less Irish than they really were, will the next moment fling himself into the extremest mystical nationalism. Quite early, he shows himself excited by the thought of revolution in *The Old Pensioner*—

> Lads are making pikes again
> For some conspiracy.

The play *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* might be called the culmination of the Gaelic patriotic *aisling*. *September 1913*, his poem on John O'Leary's death, a rebuke to calculatin

moderation, was also a thrilling call to the bloodshed that was in store—

> Was it for this the wild geese spread
> The grey wing upon every tide . . . . ?

It leads to *Easter 1916, A terrible beauty is born*—leads to it as one poem leads to another, and perhaps actually led many men to their death. Poetry such as that of *The Nation* makes men demonstrate, but because of poems like those, or *The Dreaming of the Bones*, men will die. Yeats himself wondered much, in these last years, how much of our history was his doing :—

> I lie awake night after night
> And never get the answers right.
> Did that play of mine send out
> Certain men the English shot ?

III

> The abstract joy,
> The half-read wisdom of daemonic images
> Suffice the ageing man as once the growing boy.

Yeats in his second period was more imaginative in expression than a Pope or a Dryden, but usually not less positive ; the scene was a small world, and infinites and ultimates were out of view. He was depicting friends, foes, causes, and praising or attacking them. But gradually, while still continuing this vein, he entered upon another. War, and the Irish war, and their consequences, and the shortening of his years, wrought the change. He was brought to question and doubt his simple reading of life ; to face the problems of Good and Evil, of heaven and hell. He affronts these, characteristically, alone. No chosen philosophy or theology is his shield or spear ; he arms himself with fragments of many of them, and does not arm himself heavily. Impulse and pride and the solitary mind are his best weapons.

He saw things that perplexed his simple aristocratic creed. He saw that those who live with pride and art cannot be sure that they will leave like descendants :—

> —Maybe the great-grandson of that house,
> For all its bronze and marble, 's but a mouse.

And that nobility and fine living are not derived from the like but from bitter and violent power :—

> Some violent bitter man, some powerful man
> Called architect and artist in, that they,
> Bitter and violent men, might rear in stone
> The sweetness that all longed for night and day.

And that fine things are, perhaps, only symptoms of decadence. Even of ourselves we cannot be sure :

> We pieced our thoughts into philosophy,
> And planned to bring the world under a rule,
> Who are but weasels fighting in a hole.

Good and evil, then, are inseparable, and the one engenders the other. These perplexities sometimes lead the poet to a philosophic sadness, a sense of the absolute vanity of things. But more often he faces them strenuously and labours for a solution. The poems in which he does so, figuring forth another world of forces and symbols " out of his bitter soul," are the greatest metaphysical poetry of the present age. They are still new and obscure : seminal poems, of which the sense and efficacy will not immediately mature and be gathered.

The simplest of these poems is *Sailing to Byzantium* ; may be allowed to dwell on it a little. The ageing poet longs to be out of nature, out of the world of growth and decay and to attain to a life made up wholly of what still lives in him, intellect or soul ; to become a mind and a voice. Dr Tillyard has noted a reference in the first stanza to Keats's *Nightingale*, with its birds and song and its *dying* generation. There is a reference, also, in the word *sensual* to the *Grecian Urn*. And the references continue, for the poem in which the ageing poet longs for a purely intellectual being is throughout closely, though perhaps unconsciously, moulded on those in which Keats longed for the bodiless exaltation of song, the passionless being of the figures on an urn. (To Keats's *immortal bird* correspond here the sages, figured as birds, and the emperor's golden bird in the last stanza). No doubt it is a fallacy that song is immortal or that artifacts have life ; but it is a fallacy with symbolic truth, one which a man eager

discover a state that is neither life nor death may well catch at.

> That is no country for old men. The young
> In one another's arms, birds in the trees,
> —Those dying generations—at their song,
> The salmon-falls, the mackerel-crowded seas,
> Fish, flesh, or fowl, commend all summer long
> Whatever is begotten, born, or dies.
> Caught in that sensual music all neglect
> Monuments of unageing intellect.

The West, the multitudinous life of nature and sense, from this the poet turns. What is age in such a world ? A paltry thing, a scarecrow. (This is put in strong grotesque ; for Yeats has that inverted pride of the Celtic poet which makes an O'Rahilly or a Llywarch Hên exult in the loathsomeness of their state. Swift was Celt enough to do the same). Therefore soul must *clap its hands and louder sing For every tatter in its mortal dress.* And it must go to learn unsensual life in the East, in the holy city of Byzantium. He implores serenity from Byzantium's mosaic saints, to be taken among them and be all soul :—

> O sages standing in God's holy fire
> As in the gold mosaic of a wall,
> Come from the holy fire, perne in a gyre,
> And be the singing-masters of my soul.
> Consume my heart away ; sick with desire
> And fastened to a dying animal
> It knows not what it is ; and gather me
> Into the artifice of eternity.

The word *artifice* carries two senses ; he wishes to be among the things of art which are deathless ; and he wishes to be, as well as a thing made, a thing making, an artificer in eternity's service. He will be the famous golden bird that was made for one of the emperors, lifeless yet miraculously alive, able to sing and prophesy. But the final aspiration of the poem is not for a trumpet-tongue, but for repose, not so much to be glorified as to be free of the travail of the flesh—with a semi-

vital song that will keep a drowsy emperor awake and prophesy only to lords and ladies of Byzantium.

> Once out of nature I shall never take
> My bodily form from any natural thing,
> But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make
> Of hammered gold and gold enamelling
> To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
> Or set upon a golden bough to sing
> To lords and ladies of Byzantium
> Of what is past, or passing, or to come.

I dwell on this poem partly because it sets forth clearly, in one mode, the two opposed states of being between which Yeats's genius latterly vacillated and struggled: nature (also self or heart) and soul (also called intellect). Also, it may stand as an example of Yeats's later style. He had begun delicate and luxurious; he became strong and plain; now the plainness, from the greater matters it speaks of, takes on an austere splendour.

Soul in these poems is intellect or vision, which is one part of the living man. It is also the monuments of intellect: poem, picture, etc.; and it is the souls of those who have passed out of nature—above all of artists and seers. Soul is simple, whether it is abstract serenity or concentrated power. It is darkness, contrasted with day's complexity; a darkness ancestral to life, yet akin to nothingness. It is flame, pale and serene like the moon, or unburning as in the Byzantine palace, or blazing and tyrannical, a fierce star. *Self* is body, nature, daylight life with its commonness, complexity and dispersion. It is Homer and original sin in contrast to Isaiah's *dumb simplicity of fire.* It is animality and brutality: Leda's swan, the frog-spawn in the ditch, mire and blood; it is birth and decay, swaddling-clothes and winding-sheet. Soul is good; the city of Byzantium is holy, and the night of intellect can *deliver from the crime of death and birth.* But soul is evil too; it is death, and cowardice; it is tyrannous and horrible when it imposes itself upon natural humanity as demon or god. Self is evil because it is nature, bestial and cruel. Yet it is good. It is acceptance, and mysteriously it is the source

of sweetness and innocence. In *Self and Soul*, Soul is silenced first and the poet listens on to the voice of Self. Self refuses to be absorbed into supernatural nothingness, and will endure the pain and shame of life and then of a second life, for the sake of not being conquered and for the sweetness and joy that mysteriously visit those who endure.

> What matter if I live it all once more?
> Endure that toil of growing up;
> The ignominy of boyhood; the distress
> Of boyhood changing into man;
> The unfinished man and his pain
> Brought face to face with his own clumsiness;
>
> The finished man among his enemies? . . . .
>
> I am content to follow to its source,
> Every event in action or in thought;
> Measure the lot; forgive myself the lot!
> When such as I cast out remorse
> So great a sweetness flows into the breast
> We must laugh and we must sing,
> We are blest by everything,
> Everything we look upon is blest.

That is what is to be endured by the individual. What is to be endured by the world is put in a short poem, *The Second Coming*. The chaos of our days is set down in words which perhaps many historians will quote :—

> Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity.

And from this scene, wherein good is evil and evil good, the poet turns an eye of wild but steady prophecy upon the desert, and beholds the coming of an awful demon and god; another cycle is to be endured.

Latterly the poet has been developing the self or nature concept into a lively, Rabelais-like naturalism, employing the humour and coarseness of popular speech and folksong rhythm.

Interpretation has not followed Yeats's latest windings upon the paths made by himself into the perplexities of ultimate questions. (When it does, some mystification, beyond the legitimate mystery of poetry, may be discovered; but I think not much, for these poems are sincere). Meanwhile, and probably always, some people will like Yeats better—I mean as poet (guide or teacher is another matter)—when he thinks of last things in quite a different and a simpler way; when he flings aside the philosophies, begs all the questions, invents all the answers, and sets out bravely and with a gallant carelessness into the unknown. It is all our own making, he then declares: life and death, heaven and hell, we have imagined it all, and it is all at our will. Thus liberated, the poet quits his hesitant metres for the quick and defiant trimeter that no one else has used so well.

> And I declare my faith:
> I mock Plotinus' thought
> And cry in Plato's teeth,
> Death and life were not
> Till man made up the whole,
> Made lock, stock and barrel
> Out of his bitter soul,
> Aye, sun and moon and star, all,
> And further add to that,
> That, being dead, we rise,
> Dream, and so create
> Translunar Paradise.
> I have prepared my peace
> With learned Italian things
> And the proud stones of Greece,
> Poet's imaginings
> And memories of love,
> Memories of the words of women,
> All those things whereof
> Man makes a superhuman
> Mirror-resembling dream.

J. J. Hogan

CHEMISTRY IN THE SERVICE OF MAN

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS DILLON, D.SC.

CHEMICAL science must be said to have had its beginnings when the first extractor of copper began to speculate on the origin of the metal that he was obtaining, or when the first builder began to form a theory as to the setting of mortar, or when the first herbalist began to think about the nature of the drugs that he or she was prescribing. It cannot therefore be described as a new science. And yet, notwithstanding its obvious age, the advance during the past century and a half in our knowledge of the composition of material things is greater than the advance during all previous periods of recorded history. Perhaps the only explanation of this prolonged failure of the human race to arrive at even a moderately satisfactory knowledge of the composition of matter is that, contrary to the view held strongly at least in some quarters, the great majority of men have no curiosity whatever as to the nature of their material surroundings and that, in the words of the seventeenth century author of *Physica Subterranea*, they look on chemists as "a strange class of mortals impelled by an almost insane impulse to seek their pleasure among smoke and vapour, soot and flame, poison and poverty." The average bronze age man probably wielded his new weapon with as little curiosity as to its origin as the girl of to-day presses the button of her self-starter. And so it was not until the accumulation of chemical knowledge revealed the commercial gains and social amenities to be obtained from the study of chemistry that the strange mortal began to be regarded without suspicion by at least some of his fellows. Money was then forthcoming to assist him in his queer pursuits, more profits and more amenities followed, and finally the blessed words "industrial research" found their way into the daily press.

How far the chemist has to-day advanced in the esteem of the public is shown by the publication of a survey of the progress of chemistry during the past hundred years by Professor

Findlay of Aberdeen.[1] The significance of the book does not lie so much in the title. 1837 was not the beginning of any new epoch in chemistry. What is significant is that an enterprising publisher, who was producing a series of surveys of the progress made during a hundred years in various forms of human activity, saw fit to include a survey of the progress of chemistry. There is no reason to regret his choice. Professor Findlay has given us a most interesting account of the development of chemical science during the past century. He has solved the problem of the limitations of his title by a concise first chapter on the "Historical Background," and he has had no difficulty in creating the illusion that he was dealing with an epoch by quoting a letter from Wohler to Berzelius written in 1835. "Organic Chemistry," says Wohler, "just now is enough to drive one mad. It gives me the impression of a primeval tropical forest, full of the most remarkable things, a monstrous and boundless thicket, with no way of escape, into which one may well dread to enter."

As a matter of fact modern chemistry dates from the publication of *The Sceptical Chymist* by Robert Boyle in the year 1661. Up to that time the views of Aristotle on the composition of matter still dominated the science. It is true that Paracelous (1493-1541) replaced Aristotle's "four elements"—fire, air, earth and water—by the "three principles" salt, sulphur and mercury; but the general outlook on the problem was the same. Boyle completely repudiated this outlook and stated, in language that might be used to-day, that the material universe was composed of certain primitive or "perfectly unmixt" bodies, of which all "mixt bodies" (compounds) were made. There is no need to suppose, says Boyle, that any one of these elements is contained in all matter or that their number is limited to three or four. Boyle was, however, only the encyclopaedist of the Chemical Revolution. It was not until more than a hundred years later that his principles were practically applied by Lavoisier. In the very year of the political revolution in France, Lavoisier published

[1] *A Hundred Years of Chemistry.* By Alexander Findlay. London: Duckworth 1937. 15s.

his *Traité Elémentaire de Chimie*, in which he showed by quantitative experiments how an element could be distinguished from a compound. Furthermore, by his demonstration of the rôle of oxygen in combustion, he destroyed the " imponderable " phlogiston and thus finally eliminated the Aristotelian influence from chemistry.

Until Boyle's views had been thus firmly established and until the imponderabilia had been got out of the way, no development of chemical theory was possible. Bryan Higgins had indeed, as early as 1786, expressed the opinion that " elastic fluids unite with one another in limited proportions only " and that this depends on the combination of their particles or atoms with the matter of fire which surrounds them as an atmosphere and makes them repulsive of each other." A few years later his nephew and pupil William Higgins published a clear statement of an atomic theory. But these ideas had no effect on a generation well schooled in the phlogiston theory (although a thousand copies of William Higgins's book were sold), and it was not until nearly fifteen years after the publication of Lavoisier's views on oxidation and the elements that the minds of chemists were ready to receive the doctrine of atoms—enunciated, this time, by Dalton. Dalton's theory was taken up with enthusiasm. In Sweden Berzelius began a series of determinations of atomic weights of the elements, and in France Gay-Lussac showed that gases combine in simple proportions by volume—a discovery which Avogadro and Ampère made the basis of an important extension of Dalton's theory. The compounds derived from animal and vegetable sources—the so-called organic compounds, hitherto almost a mystery—began to yield up their secrets under the influence of the new doctrine.

This story, or some of it at least, is told in Professor Findlay's introductory chapter. Then he proceeds, in a clear and attractive style, to tell the story of the development of organic, inorganic and physical chemistry from 1835 to the present day. He also gives us the history of the great industries that have arisen directly out of the new knowledge and have grown with the growth of that knowledge. At the end of the book

there is a series of short biographical notes on the principal men and women responsible for the growth of the science. Amongst them there is one Irish name, Maxwell Simpson—the friend of Mitchel and the brother-in-law of John Martin—who, in the back kitchen of his house in Wellington Road, Dublin, achieved the first synthesis of succinic acid and who afterwards became Professor of Chemistry at Queen's College, Cork. There is also the name of Walter Noel Hartley, whose life work on spectroscopy was carried out in the Royal College of Science, Dublin.

The period of chemistry dealt with in this book falls naturally into three parts unequal in time length. The first part is the latter half of the period from the publication of Dalton's atomic theory in 1800 to the recognition of Cannizzarro's teaching of the principle of Avogadro in 1860. Up to this date no certainty existed as to the true value of atomic weights ; every school of chemists had its own values for these fundamental constants, and all was in such confusion that many abandoned the atomic theory altogether and not a few despaired of ever making a real science of chemistry.

The dramatic manner in which this confusion was suddenly brought to an end is told by Professor Findlay. "In 1860 in the hope that some agreement on these matters might be reached by a personal exchange of views, a conference was arranged to be held at Karlsruhe. Over a hundred of the leading chemists of the world were present, but after three days the conference broke up with no other agreement reached than that scientific questions cannot be settled by a vote and that full freedom must be left to the individual investigator. As each member left the conference, however, he received a copy of a *Sketch of a Course of Chemical Philosophy held in the Royal University of Genoa*, drawn up in 1858 by the Italian chemist Stanislao Cannizzarro, who was himself a member of the conference. In this *Course of Chemical Philosophy* Cannizzarro made clear to chemists the full importance of the hypothesis of Avogadro and the relation between the molecular and atomic theories, removed the misunderstandings which had prevented the general acceptance of these theories and

supporting his arguments by the results of experiments, showed how, on the basis of Avogadro's hypothesis, the values of the atomic weights could be decided. The reading of Cannizarro's but little known pamphlet soon brought conviction to most of those who had attended the conference, most quickly perhaps to the German chemist, Lothar Meyer, who after studying the pamphlet wrote: 'The scales fell from my eyes, doubts vanished and were replaced by a feeling of the most peaceful assurance.' "

Recognition of Cannizarro's teaching cleared the way for developments in every branch of the science, and the second period referred to above began. Already in 1858 Couper and Kekule had independently put forward the theory of valency according to which carbon compounds were built up by the linking together of carbon atoms in chains and the attachment of other atoms (hydrogen, nitrogen, sulphur, etc.) to the carbon atoms. This theory, which could never have developed without a reliable method for fixing atomic and molecular weights, such as that taught by Cannizarro, enabled the organic chemist to determine the way in which the atoms were linked together in the molecules of organic compounds and to discover the existence of large numbers of compounds which contained the same atoms in the same numbers but arranged in different ways. These so-called *isomeric* compounds, found in large numbers in animal and vegetable life, accounted (partly at least) for the complexity of the chemistry of living matter. Five years after the Karlsruhe conference Kekule extended the doctrine of valency by his theory that benzene consisted of a ring of six carbon atoms with one hydrogen atom attached to each. This theory had far-reaching consequences, social, political and economic; for it led to the synthetic dye and drug industry, which altered ancient systems of agriculture and shifted centres of population in Europe and in India and cured diseases that had scourged humanity from time immemorial.

The fundamental principle underlying the theory of valency developed by Kekule was that the chemical behaviour of a substance gave a clue to the way in which the atoms of the

elements in the substance were linked together and that if two substances had the same percentage composition, that is to say if they contained the same elements united together in the same proportions by weight, then the differences, physical and chemical, between them could be traced to the different arrangements of the atoms in them. A difficulty in this theory was the existence of two kinds of tartaric acid, one of which rotated the plane of polarisation of plane-polarised light while the other had no effect on plane-polarised light. Into this difficulty and its solution by Pasteur and other chemists we cannot enter. It will suffice to say that their experiments ultimately gave birth to the science of *stereo-chemistry*. Then came Emil Fischer, who applied the new theory to explain the existence of the naturally occurring sugars, glucose and mannose, both of which have the formula $C_6 H_{12} O_6$. He showed that sixteen such sugars should exist, and synthesised several of them. All sixteen have since been synthesised, and several of them have been discovered in the animal or vegetable organism. With these researches, the most brilliant and fascinating that have ever been carried out by an organic chemist, Fischer laid the foundations of carbohydrate chemistry, a subject which has ever since been pursued enthusiastically by chemists all over the world with results which, in their application to industry, have given us many new substances and, in their application to medicine, have relieved untold sufferings.

Cannizarro's development of the atomic theory furnished chemists with a powerful weapon, armed with which they no longer feared to enter the " monstrous and boundless thicket " described by Wohler. For fifty years their chief occupation consisted in cutting through this thicket, discovering the wonders it contained and placing their discoveries at the disposal of the human race. However, discontent is of the essence of science and, notwithstanding the marvellous discoveries made through the instrumentality of the Cannizarro theory, the " peaceful assurance " of which Lothar Meyer spoke did not last long. The mysterious relationships between the elements discovered by Mendeleef, the vagaries of chemical

valency and its queer relationship to electrical forces, the existence of characteristic spectra of the elements—facts such as these made chemists feel that they were in the midst of a new thicket against which their weapon was powerless. They could no longer accept the atoms, as Newton and Dalton did, as "solid massy hard impenetrable particles." The general behaviour of the atoms indicated that they had "insides"; but no chemical reaction gave any indication of what these "insides" were like, except that in some vague way they had something to do with electricity. Worse still, there arose towards the end of the nineteenth century an ungrateful school of chemists, with many secret adherents, who held that, as chemical reactions gave no direct proof of its existence, this atom, which had built up their science for them, was no more than a pleasing and useful make-believe.

Nevertheless the real triumph of the atom was at hand. In 1896 Becquerel in Paris discovered radio activity, and in the following year Thomson in Cambridge discovered the electron. The phenomena observed by these two experimenters proved to be nothing less than, in the first case, the spontaneous disintegration of atoms and, in the second case, the breaking off by electric forces of fragments of the atom which Dalton had declared that no man could split.

These discoveries mark the beginning of a new period in physical and in chemical science—a period characterised by a closer alliance between the two branches of the science of material things. During the nineteenth century the atom of the chemist was looked upon, in physical laboratories, with a kind of amused and slightly contemptuous tolerance. Physicists now co-operated with chemists in discovering the physical properties of the despised atom. It was photographed; it was weighed; the number in a given volume of a substance was determined with an accuracy at least as great as the accuracy of the census of a large town. Thus the number in an ounce of water is of the order of 10^{25}* Thomson, Ruther-

* If a being existed who was capable of handling individual atoms and if he proceeded to count the number of molecules in an ounce of water, like a cashier counts coins, and worked without ceasing day and night, year in year out, his task would not be more than half finished in a billion years.

ford, Bohr, the Curies, and many others explored the inside of the atom and made the astonishing discovery that the solid impenetrable particle of Newton and Dalton consisted mainly of empty space in which, guided by hitherto unknown laws, electrons moved round a central nucleus like planets round a sun. The work of Mosely on the X-ray spectra of the elements gave a method of finding the number of planetary electrons in an element, and chemists soon evolved a theory which, on the basis of the electronic structure of the atom, explained the law of Mendeleef and the relation of chemical valency to electric forces.

This third period of modern chemical science (which has been called the period of the quantum theory) has produced wonders as great as any other. The old dream of the alchemists has been realised; elements have been transmuted into one another. Perhaps the most remarkable result of the new development is the discovery that water, the commonest substance on earth, the subject of innumerable experiments throughout the ages, has been separated, not into two different compounds but into two different *waters*—a conception impossible to nineteenth century science.

But if the triumphs of modern chemistry are as great as those of any other period, its difficulties are equally formidable. The country which the chemist of to-day is exploring cannot, however, be called a thicket; rather should it be likened to a fairyland where electrons appear and vanish in a mysterious manner, and the worst of it is that these eerie transformations appear to take place at the wave of the magic chalk of the mathematician. On the basis of the theory of the electronic structure of the atom, Kossel in Germany and Lewis in America produced a theory of valency which seemed to be a starting point for new developments as great as those which resulted from the Cannizarro theory in the nineteenth century. No sooner, however, had the theory been welcomed by chemists than they were informed by the physicist and the mathematician that, while the electron certainly sometimes existed as a point charge of electricity in outside space, within the atom it was a wave motion. The properties of this wave

motion and the methods by which it transforms itself into an electron can only be discovered by a new kind of mathematical analysis calculated to strike terror into the heart of the mere experimenter. Professor Findlay, very wisely one may be permitted to say, does not attempt to discuss these latest developments in his survey. He sums the situation up in a pithy sentence: "Thus the purely corpuscular theory of matter is passing into a wave theory, and the difficulties of reconciliation thereby produced give a stimulus to further advance and a fuller and richer significance to what is already known."

Perhaps one of the most remarkable things about modern chemistry is the way in which, independently of any new developments, the old classical theory continues to produce results. The Cannizarro theory and the Kekule theory of valency were and are so adequate for dealing with organic compounds (the compounds of carbon) that it only needed improvements in laboratory apparatus to give rise to a flood of new practical applications as striking as any in the past. These developments are perhaps most striking in the domain of modern biochemistry. The method of determining the percentages of carbon and hydrogen in organic compounds devised by Liebig in 1831, and the methods of determining the percentages of nitrogen subsequently devised by Dumas were of first rate importance in the development of organic chemistry. In each of these processes it was necessary to destroy 200 milligrams of the substance under examination. About twenty years ago Pregl of Gratz (who surely deserves a place in Professor Findlay's biographical notes) perfected methods for the analysis of organic compounds in which not more than about 4 milligrams, or about a fiftieth of the quantity used in the older methods, are required. It thus became possible to find the composition of bodies occurring in the animal or vegetable organism in extremely small quantities but of the greatest physiological importance. The knowledge acquired of the vitamines and the hormones which control vital processes is due mainly to the micro-analytical methods of Pregl and

to other "microchemical" methods of dealing with very small quantities of material.

These developments in our knowledge of the composition of matter have had an effect on the philosophical outlook of the world which only a philosopher could discuss. They have also profoundly affected social life, not only by giving rise to the cheap and easy production of many useful commodities but also by completely altering the basis on which such production depends. Thus, for example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the metals used by man were about six or eight in number, and these had been known from remote times. To-day, as a result of chemical research that number has been more than doubled, an achievement that has made possible the production of machines demanding metals or alloys with special properties. Again, at the beginning of the nineteenth century dyes and drugs were extracted from plants, and fibres for the manufacture of clothing were taken from the cotton or flax plant or from the sheep or the silkworm. To-day most dyes are put together or synthesised in chemical factories, while cotton fibre is dissolved up and re-made into a finer product. It would seem indeed, according to the latest news from America, that the days of cotton or of any other natural fibre as articles of clothing are numbered. For an American firm announces the synthesis in the laboratory, without the use of any product of animal or vegetable origin, of a fibre unique in tensile strength, elasticity, uniformity and extreme fineness of filament. These are but a few of the practical results of the study of chemistry during the past century.

The basis on which the manufacture of these new products rests differs profoundly from that underlying the older industries. Behind the production of the older metals there was very little theory. Empirical rules, handed on from generation to generation, were the chief guides in the processes used and the skilled workman was the keyman on whom successful production depended. The new metals, on the other hand, are products of exact chemical knowledge, and indeed the successful production of any metal must now be controlled

not by the skilled workman but by the chemist. In the production of the older dyes the necessary plants, such as indigo or madder, were grown and the dyes were extracted from them by simple empirical rules. In the manufacture of modern dyes, as well as in their application to the fabric, an army of chemists is employed. To realise the change that has taken place one need only compare an encyclopaedia such as Muspratt's *Chemistry as Applied to the Arts and Manufactures*, published in the first half of the nineteenth century and giving an occasional theoretical explanation, with the latest edition of Thorpe's *Dictionary of Applied Chemistry* with its constitutional formulae on almost every page.

It is not, however, merely in the employment of chemists to control production that modern industries differ from those of the past. The chief difference lies rather in the spirit in which they are carried on. That spirit is founded on the certainty that industry is not static, but that processes may be cheapened and products improved by chemical research. The duty of the chemist in industry is thus not merely to control manufacturing operations, but also continually to carry out investigations into the theoretical basis of processes and the composition and properties of products. Progressive firms employ large staffs of chemists who keep in touch with current views and discussions in chemical science, and much of the research work done by these chemists does not differ in any way from the academic researches of the universities.

These facts should be of the greatest interest to a country such as ours which is trying to revive and develop industry which had been stifled by state policy just at the time when this new spirit was being born. There are, indeed, signs that our statesmen and our people have some idea of the importance of scientific knowledge in modern industry; they would, however, understand better how this knowledge is to be applied if they studied the history of industrial research. At all times, of course, manufacturers have consulted scientific men with a view to solving difficulties in their processes; but this new movement is quite different. In his chapters on the growth of chemical industry, Professor Findlay hardly stresses suffi-

ciently the extent to which the new movement owes its origin to the ideals and constitution of the German universities. The underlying principles of these institutions might be said to have been: first, that the primary duty of the professor was to advance knowledge by research; secondly, that the professor was free to teach whatever he wished in his own subject and the student was free to learn. The result was that at a time when in England and *a fortiori* in Ireland chemistry was still an adjunct of the medical school and could not be taken for a degree, in Germany young students of first rate ability were being encouraged to study chemistry and were being rewarded with doctors' degrees for original research. Thus, hundreds of young men were being turned out with a knowledge of the composition of matter and trained in the methods of scientific investigation. These young men, searching for an outlet for their abilities and a means of livelihood, built up, out of raw material largely if not mainly imported, the chemical industries for which Germany was and is famous. A new "learned profession," that of the chemist, came into being and by its close association with this profession manufacturing was ennobled, from being a mere contest of wits between men, into a systematic effort to control the forces of nature by scientific knowledge and thereby to raise the standard of living of the community.

These new methods spread from Germany over the whole world—slowly at first, but after the Great War with great rapidity. It is unfortunately true that they have not yet penetrated into Ireland. Our universities indeed make provision for the teaching of chemistry, and degrees by scientific research are a standard part of their programmes. But are the chemical laboratories of the universities filled with students taking degrees in chemistry to fit themselves for this new profession in which they could be of such service to the country? The answer is "No." Any young Irishman who has a liking for chemistry, if he gets an opportunity to go to the university, goes in for a medical degree, and when he has left the university, in nine cases out of ten he settles down in England and is permanently lost to Ireland. To the ordinary

person in Ireland a chemist is still a compounder of medicines ; to a few he may be an analyst ; the number of persons who associate the word in any way with industrial or agricultural development is negligible.

It is not belittling the efforts that are being made, by protection and by other methods, to revive industry in Ireland to say that these efforts will be largely ineffective unless something is done to create a far more widespread knowledge of science and a far more widespread understanding of its relation to modern industry. Apart altogether from its utility, it is recognised in all progressive countries that a knowledge of science is to-day an essential part of a good education. In Ireland we have fallen back in this respect. Twenty-five years ago science was taught in all our schools ; to-day—owing partly to the decisions of the Department of Education, partly to a dislike of science on the part of headmasters who have themselves had no scientific training, and partly to impatience with the " heuristic " method of Armstrong (which embodied a good idea but was pushed too far)—the number of boys who leave our secondary schools with any knowledge of science is very small. The colleges of the National University, on the other hand, make the erroneous assumption that their students at entrance have received a secondary school education up to the standard of a continental entrant to the university and arrange their courses in such a way that students must begin to specialise at once. Thirty years ago the old Royal University made no such mistake. In its time every student after matriculation, no matter what his subsequent studies were to be, was obliged to pursue for one year a course of general education which included physics and which thus gave him an introduction to the principles of science. Youths coming to the university will not, except as part of a compulsory course, take up the study of a subject of which they have never heard. The result of all this is that the number of men studying science in the universities has now been reduced to a minimum, so that most educated Irishmen have passed through the secondary school and the university knowing nothing of the principles of the sciences which so profoundly affect modern life and thought.

In our blindness to the relation of science to industry w are following an old and outworn English tradition. England with its immense mineral resources, was able to build up it industries with a minimum of scientific assistance. Gradually however, she has found that raw materials without scientifi knowledge are becoming less and less valuable, and since th war she has come to a better understanding of the need fo science and scientific research. It has been said that it take sixty years for a new idea to penetrate from the Continen to England, and another hundred for the same idea to cros to Ireland. Let us pray that in this case of science, in th interests of the future prosperity of the country, the perio of crossing may be much shortened. We, with our scanty raw materials, have never been able to do without all the scientifi knowledge that we could acquire; we must in fact build u our industry on the brains of our people. Indeed to anyon who knows anything of the extent to which scientific know ledge, and especially chemical knowledge, enters into th processes by which the needs of the people of to-day ar supplied it is almost pathetic to see a nation making franti efforts to create and develop industries, while nobody think of attempting to foster the growth of the scientific knowledg without which modern industry cannot exist.

THOMAS DILLON

TWO DISTINGUISHED IRISHMEN IN THE SPANISH SERVICE *

Sir Toby Bourke and Dr. John Higgins

BY THE MARQUIS MACSWINEY OF MASHANAGLASS,
K.M., M.R.I.A.

IN the course of my investigations in the archives of Spain, I have happened to come upon the names of some of those Irish generals who after a brilliant career in the army, instead of being pensioned off in the ordinary way and, perhaps, honoured with some mark of distinction, received and effectively held for a number of years positions which afforded them the opportunity of giving the full measure of talents other and more varied than those usually required of military men. Strange as it may seem—but only too true as it really is—most of the men I have thus found mentioned in Spanish documents of the period have been, long since, completely forgotten in the land of their birth, whilst in the land where they lived, served and died, they were esteemed, admired, and regretted by all from the Sovereign himself down to the humblest *aldeano*.

With the exception of Count Daniel O'Mahony, Count Francis Anthony de Lacy, Richard Wall, and Count Alexander O'Reilly, none of the eminent generals who so greatly signalized themselves in the government of extensive provinces and densely populated cities or in the fulfilment of important missions, administrative, political or diplomatic, appear to have been known either to Alfred Webb,[1] Dr. John Crone,[2] or Mr. Elliot O'Donnell,[3] in whose biographical publications their names do not figure. Had these specialists gone to the trouble of glancing through the pages of O'Callaghan's *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*—a work which contains more information than its title implies—they would,

* A paper read before the Royal Dublin Society, 11 March 1938.

1. The notes are to be found at the end of the article.

at least, have discovered the existence of Lieut.-General Henry Crofton[4] who raised and commanded one of the first two Irish regiments in the Spanish service, of Lieut.-General Patrick Lawless[5] who, prior to his appointment as Captain-General of the Balearic Isles, was successively sent to London and Paris as His Catholic Majesty's Ambassador, and of Major-General Charles de Cusack[6] who, on being transferred from the Spanish to the Neapolitan service, was made Governor of Melazzo in Sicily, where he died. For omissions such as these no excuse can be found. The same may not be said, however, as regards the names of many other general officers of singular merit which are also missing in the *Compendium*, the *Concise Dictionary* and *The Irish Abroad*. In effect it is only fair to observe, for the exculpation of the compilers of these works, that they had very little chance of coming across, in publications of either ancient or recent date, anything more than some vague reference to personalities so prominent in their day as, for instance, Vincent Kindelan, Brigadier-General and Governor of Zamora, Sir John Sherlock, Lieut.-General and Governor of San Lucar de Barrameda, and Felix O'Neill, Lieut.-General and, in turn, Governor of Gerona, of Barcelona, and Captain-General of Aragon. To these and to many others of a long list I have drawn up I propose to devote, when the opportunity affords, short biographical notices, just for the purpose of rescuing their memory from the lamentable oblivion in which, so undeservedly, it has been permitted to sink.

I

Before I attempt to relate the inspiring life-story of those great soldiers of Ireland, I feel it is incumbent upon me to give a summary account of two very remarkable men—Sir Toby Bourke and Doctor John Higgins—whose names are equally forgotten in this country. The share they both had —the physician, perhaps, a greater one than the diplomat— in inducing the government of Madrid to consent to the addition of a few Irish regiments to the Spanish military establishment entitles them, unquestionably, to be assigned

a place of honour among the Irishmen in the service of Spain, for it is owing to the existence of these corps that so many thousands of our exiled countrymen were provided with an honourable livelihood, whilst so many hundreds of others found open before them the boundless fields of glory in which they gathered with eager hands wonderful crops of laurels.

Although Toby Bourke, who was descended from the Bourkes of Clanrickard,[8] spent the greatest part of his life at the Spanish Court, in the closest intimacy with Philip V and his Queen, he was only officially employed for a very short time in the service of Spain. Born in or about the year 1675, the son of Richard Bourke by Silena O'Brien his wife,[9] he probably left Ireland with the great mass of emigrants who, after the surrender of Limerick, followed King James's army to France. There he studied for a few years Sciences, Arts, Letters, and the French language, which he spoke to perfection.[10] Then in 1697, provided with high recommendations, he went to Rome and had the good fortune of being admitted into the household of Cardinal de Bouillon.[11] Appreciating the young Irishman's ability and uncommon *savoir-faire*, His Eminence caused the Sacred College to entrust him with confidential missions to the Dukes of Modena and of Parma.[12] In 1702 Toby Bourke accompanied to Madrid Monsignor Zondadari the Nuncio Extraordinary sent there by Clement XI,[13] and soon succeeded in winning for himself the good graces of the Queen, who obtained for him a Knighthood of the Order of Santiago[14] and, in 1704, sent him on a somewhat mysterious mission to Paris.[15] Appointed by James III, on the 7th of January, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber[16] and, on the 16th of April of the following year (having been knighted in the meanwhile),[17] His Majesty's Ambassador to the Court of Madrid,[18] he immediately returned to Spain where he was received with much favour.[19] During the seven years that his mission lasted, the Irish diplomat, whom the almighty Princess des Ursins honoured with a very special friendship, did good service to the Jacobite cause and displayed untiring zeal in the defence of the interests of his countrymen residing in Spain. Whilst thus diligently attending to his official

duties, Don Tobias de Burgo—as the Spaniards usually called King James's representative—was quietly carrying out, in his private capacity, the confidential task with which the French War Minister had entrusted him on obtaining for him, from Louis XIV, the generous subsidy of 6,000 francs per annum[20] in lieu of the salary which his own Sovereign could ill afford to give him. For seven years, twice a month, he sent to Chamillard a carefully written report on current events in Spain, brimful of information and interesting as well from a political as a military point of view. This correspondence which has been rightly described by François Combes as a "*véritable gazette du temps*," has fortunately been preserved and is, in many respects, deserving of publication.[21]

According to Saint-Simon, it would have been before he went to Spain—that is to say, prior to the year 1702,—that Bourke would have gone to Paris and got married there to a daughter of the Marquis de Varennes ;[22] but as A. de Boislisle the learned editor of the *Mémoires*, observes in a foot-note it was only six years later, in or about the month of August 1708, that the marriage of James III's Ambassador to Spain was solemnized in the French capital.[23]

In 1712, relations having been re-established between the courts of Madrid and St. James, the British Government insisted upon the withdrawal of the "Pretender's" Ambassador in Spain, and Sir Toby, having relinquished his official character,[24] continued to live there privately as, at the time so many other Irishmen did. When, in 1715, Alberoni was endeavouring to bring Sweden into an alliance with Spain and the Jacobite party, Sir Toby was appointed Spanish Envoy Extraordinary to Charles XII.[25] Delighted at being entrusted with so honourable a mission, he left Madrid on the 16th June, accompanied by his wife, his young children, and a numerous suite.[26] After a long and very trying journey across Spain and Portugal, during which Sir Toby, Lady Bourke, one of their children, and a number of their servants suffered greatly from the intense heat then prevailing in those parts, the travellers arrived towards the middle of July at Lisbon where they were to embark on the ship that was to take them

to Hamburg.[28] This ship, the "Dragon," which the King of Spain's Envoy had chartered in advance at Le Hâvre de Grâce, was safely brought into that harbour, after twenty-two days uneventful sailing,[29] by her Master "one Wallis, an Irish Papist" as, a few weeks later, Admiral Byng was to describe him in one of his reports to General James Stanhope.[30]

Having heard, on his arrival at Le Hâvre, that Louis XIV had just died (1st of September), Sir Toby hastened to go to Paris for the purpose of conferring with the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of Versailles. But on learning from the Prince of Cellamare that Admiral Byng, who was then cruising in the Channel with a squadron of English warships, intended to apprehend him, he resolved to return forthwith to Le Hâvre. After seeing his family, which he had left there, duly embark once more on the "Dragon" and resume their journey to Hamburg, he himself, rather than run the risk of being captured and taken a prisoner to England, decided to conceal his identity under the name and disguise of a French merchant and alone, without even having a passport, to make straight for Germany by land *via* Flanders and Holland.[31] How wise he had been in adopting such a course, the Irish diplomat was only to realise fully later on, when Lady Bourke, having rejoined him in Hamburg, gave him a graphic account of all her misadventures.

That the English and the Spanish secret services were, at the time, equally alert and efficient is clearly shown by the fact that while the former had revealed to Admiral Byng the presence, on board the "Dragon," of Sir Toby Bourke, who was going to Sweden in the capacity of His Catholic Majesty's Minister but was suspected of being, in reality, "an agent or instrument of the Pretender and possibly designed to transact something at Hamburg or in Sweden for his interest,"[32] the latter had put the Prince of Cellamare in a position to provide Sir Toby with the information which allowed him to make good his escape.

Apprehensive of the perils of all kinds to which his family was exposed and anxious, for obvious reasons, to reach as soon as possible his remote destination, the pseudo-French

merchant could not, as yet, have covered very much ground when, on the 25th of September, in the morning, Sir Francis Trevanion brought with him to Admiral Byng's flag-ship the "Dragon," which one of his cruisers, the "Stafford," had just seized. The fact is that, for motives set forth by him at length in his reports to General Stanhope and to Mr. Josiah Burchett, the Admiral, having "a very great jealousy" that Sir Toby Bourke was on board, had given orders to all the cruisers, which he had dispersed on several stations, to seize this ship if they met with her at sea.[33]

On hearing of the Irish "pink's"[34] capture, Sir George Byng immediately sent for Wallis the Master and, after examining him and others of the crew, discovered that only Lady Bourke, "a Frenchwoman and of quality," her four children and seven or eight servants were on board; as to Sir Toby, "who had had his passage on the ship"—well, he had simply left her on the sly and pursued his journey by land . . . . . Writing on that very day to General Stanhope to inform him of those happenings, the Admiral observed: "Though I am disappointed in my aim in missing that Gentleman, yet, since the ship is brought in here, I did not think fit to dismiss her until I had laid the state of the whole matter before you, and that I receive from you the King's pleasure about her"—and he added: "The Commander of the 'Stafford' has sealed up all the books and papers which he found in a trunk, which he says are chiefly in Spanish. If it is the King's pleasure that they should be perused, to save you the trouble of sending anybody down here, my secretary, who speaks and writes French and Spanish, shall go on board and examine them before me." Sir George concluded by asking whether it would be His Majesty's desire that the ship be released and allowed to pursue her course.[35] On the following day, General Stanhope replied that it was His Majesty's wish that, as there was "nothing of arms or suspected goods on board" the ship "the Lady with her family be at liberty to go where she pleases and the books and papers restored, and the ship left at liberty to proceed on her voyage."[36]

By a most extraordinary coincidence, Sir Toby and his

wife arrived at Hamburg on the same day and at the same time. This must have been about the end of October. As a matter of course, the first thing Lady Bourke did, on meeting her husband once more, was to inform him duly of all that had happened her since the fateful day they parted from each other a few weeks earlier at Le Hâvre. Although the account she gave him of the incident of the " Dragon " differed only slightly from that contained in the reports addressed by Sir George Byng to the authorities in London, yet it showed that the treatment of her and of her family had not been quite so courteous as one would be led to believe in reading the official correspondence. From what her ladyship told Sir Toby, it would appear that " hardly had the ship sailed out of the harbour than she was attacked by two English men-of-war, her crew being changed, her family cruelly insulted, her luggage opened, her papers seized, the whole ship searched down to the lowest part of the hold, where Sir Toby was supposed to be hiding, her servants threatened of being put on the rack if they did not disclose where he was concealed, and, finally, the whole party taken prisoners to England and only released there, by order of the Court of Saint James, on its being definitely ascertained that he was not on board."[37]

Whether there was much, if any, exaggeration in Lady Bourke's distressing tale of woe I cannot tell; but, undoubtedly, what irritated Sir Toby most was the thought that Cardinal del Giudice, His Catholic Majesty's almighty Minister, had taken absolutely no notice of the incident and, through his failure to exact from the English any sort of reparation for what constituted a flagrant violation of the *Jus Gentium*, had gravely compromised the dignity and prestige of the Spanish Crown. So strange an attitude on the Cardinal's part the Irishman attributed, rightly or wrongly, to His Eminence's and the Abbé Alberoni's animosity towards him. Be this as it may, Lady Bourke had still more to say about her tragic travelling experiences. No sooner had the " Dragon " got well out of view of the Downs than she was assailed by a terrific gale, cast ashore somewhere on the Norwegian coast, where for no less than forty-eight hours she remained helpless

—without there being, humanly speaking, the slightest hope of her escaping the dreadful dangers which surrounded her on all sides. However, the storm having abated, the ship was able to resume her course and to reach Hamburg safely after twenty-one days of the most painful navigation.[38]

Shortly after the happy reunion of the family in the great Hanseatic city, where Sir Toby was instructed to remain till such time as he might find an opportunity of joining Charles XII, then besieged in Stralsund by the combined Prussian, Danish, and Saxon armies, Lady Bourke fell ill—so dangerously ill that she was two long months between life and death—and lost her eyesight completely. It was then that, as she was slowly recovering, Sir Toby received, all of a sudden, the disappointing news that, the King of Sweden having officially recognised Archduke Charles's claim to the Spanish throne, Philip V. desired him to return forthwith to Spain and to take up residence on his estate in the neighbourhood of Valencia.

As soon as he found it possible to leave Hamburg with his poor wife barely convalescent, but still blind, and his family[39] composed of twenty persons, Sir Toby started on his journey home, stopping first at Aix-la-Chapelle, where Lady Bourke had been ordered to take the cure which, as a matter of fact, resulted in a partial restoration of her sight, and then at Paris. There a new disappointment awaited the unfortunate diplomat. Notwithstanding the assurances given him time and again by the Spanish Treasury that he would be refunded, without further delay, of the comparatively large sums he had had to lay out during his prolonged sojourn in the north, he failed to obtain payment of even a fraction of the emoluments owed him ; and in order to procure enough money to enable him to pursue his voyage, he found himself compelled to sell certain securities which he possessed in France. Having committed his wife and children to the care of his parents-in-law, Sir Toby finally left the French capital on or about the 14th October 1716 and, quite alone once more, turned his steps towards Valencia.[40]

There, on his estate near Valencia, Sir Toby remained for years, the saddest of his life, lonely and beset by troubles

all kinds,[41] waiting in vain for Alberoni, Grimaldo, and the others to fulfil the formal promises repeatedly made to him. The moment came, however, when utterly discouraged and despairing of ever obtaining from an ungrateful Government recognition of his faithful and inadequately remunerated services, he finished by making up his mind, in August 1725, to leave for good the country and try his luck in France where he still had many a devoted and influential friend. Before crossing the Pyrenees, Bourke had taken good care to secure for himself, on the other side, a situation in keeping with his birth, his family connections, and his own social standing: he had gladly accepted, if not actually sought, an appointment in the diminutive but very select household recently set up at Vincennes for the "*Reyne seconde Douairière d'Espagne*," Louise-Elizabeth of Orleans, Louis I's youthful widow, on whose brow the crown of Spain had only shone for little more than six months.[42] On arriving, he took up the duties of the office allotted to him at the sumptuous Luxembourg,[43] whereto the Queen Dowager had just been allowed to move from the gloomy old castle sometimes used as a palace and oftener as a gaol. Unfortunately for him, dissensions broke out ere long amongst the highest officials attached to the Queen's person. The little Court soon became divided into two camps: naturally enough Bourke joined the party led by his chief, Prince de Robecq, the *Mayordomo Mayor*, whom Louise-Elizabeth most heartily detested. After close on two years continuous wrangling, her peevish Majesty arbitrarily dismissed the ringleaders of the *Mayordomo's* faction, including Sir Toby[44] and another Irishman, the Chevalier MacSwiney of the Order of Santiago, formerly one of the most brilliant officers of O'Mahony's Dragoons.[45]

It may not be, perhaps, without significance that precisely at the time the Queen Dowager was staging her little *coup d'état*, James III thought it fit to raise to the peerage the man who, in Madrid, had served his cause so well: on the 3rd of February 1727, the King honoured Sir Toby by creating him Baron Bourke with remainder to the heirs male of his body,[46] thus compensating him in advance for the unwarrantable

humiliation which, a few months later, a foreign Princess was to inflict upon him.

On finding himself once more among the "unemployed," the new Peer, though still comparatively young and as full of energy as ever, soon realised the fact that, especially under existing circumstances, the time had come for him to renounce definitely the vanities of this world and to retire quietly into private life. Leaving Paris at the beginning of 1728,[47] he returned to the Eternal City, where a quarter of a century earlier he had made his first campaign in the diplomatic field.

Beside his exiled Sovereign, in the aristocratic atmosphere of the little Jacobite court, Lord Bourke peacefully ended his days sometime, it is said, before the year 1735.[48]

II

Whilst in the course of his chequered career Toby Bourke found himself compelled, by the force of ineluctable circumstances, to move repeatedly from one country to another and to pass from the service of one court to that of another, John Higgins, from the day he first set foot on the soil of hospitable Spain to that on which his mortal remains were laid there to rest, hardly ever stirred from the Peninsula except now and then to attend to his private affairs in Bayonne; neither did he have at any time to seek employment in any other court than that of the Catholic King.

Descended from a family which he knew to have come originally from Connaught,[49] John Higgins was the son of a Limerick physician, Doctor Patrick Higgins,[50] and of his wife Mary Loftus, the daughter of John Loftus of Aghacotty[51] in the County of Limerick.[52] His grandfather, Stephen Higgins, was a brother of the famous Loyalist leader Doctor Daniel Higgins whom, in 1651, Henry Ireton, Deputy General of Ireland, got apprehended and executed together with Major-General Purcell, Sir Geoffry Galway, and Thomas Strito, the late Mayor of Limerick.[53] John Higgins was born in about 1678[54] and was, therefore, thirteen years of age in 16[9] when, in all probability, he was taken to France after the surrender of his native city.

Of the boy's childhood and early youth, of his studies in Ireland and abroad no record has come down to us. I do not even know exactly in what year—it having been decided that, following his father's and grand-uncle's example, he should embrace the medical profession—he entered the University of Montpellier,[55] renowned since the Middle Ages for its Faculty of Medicine which, already in the thirteenth century, had definitely superseded that of Salerno.[56] It was there that, in the venerable *aulae* still redolent with the teaching of Arnald de Villanova, Henry de Mandeville, Guy de Chauvelière, and many generations of illustrious professors, Thomas Sydenham had gone, in 1659, to attend the lectures of a famous Protestant Physician named Barbeyrac who, according to John Locke, influenced him profoundly.[57] In the year 1700, having finished what appears to have been a brilliant course of studies, John Higgins successively took his three degrees of Bachelor on the 29th of April, of Licentiate on the 23rd of August, and of Doctor of Medicine on the 14th of December. These dates I have found in an official document signed by the new Doctor himself on the 19th of November 1701, and preserved in the Archives of the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier.[58]

What happened to Higgins when, on finding himself fully qualified to exercise his profession, he had to look around him in search of an opening of some sort, I cannot tell. However, we have it on no less an authority than that of the Duke of Saint Simon—who a few years later, as I will show further on,[59] got to know the Irish Physician very intimately—it was at Montpellier that the Duke of Berwick first met Higgins and induced him to accompany him to Spain, where—Saint Simon observes—*ils ont des Médecins-Majors d'Armée.*[60] This must have been in February or March 1704, when Berwick was sent to the Peninsula as *generalissimo* of the French and Spanish combined forces.

Although I am quite confident that, during the greater part of the bitter contest for the possession of the crown of Spain, Higgins was constantly with the armies in the field tending the wounded and the sick, I regret not to be in a position to give an account of his services, having so far failed

to trace the official record of these services, which must cer tainly be somewhere in the archives of either France or o Spain. In 1707 he was present at the siege of Lérida : from the camp there he wrote, on the 3rd of November, a mos interesting letter to the Marquis de Torcy, the French Secre tary for Foreign Affairs, the original of which I have foun at the Quai d'Orsay.[61]

It is, I believe, beyond doubt that Higgins must have bee present at the battle of Villaviciosa, fought on the 10th o December 1710, in his capacity of Chief Medical Officer— *Premier Médecin des Armées d'Espagne*, as he is described i a contemporary document ;[62] and I am confirmed in thi belief by the fact that shortly after that memorable actio (which marked the beginning of the end, the end of all hop on the part of the Allies " of conquering Spain in Spain," a Lord Macaulay so picturesquely put it)[63] Philip V attache him to his person by bestowing upon him, on the 8th o February 1711, the honorary title of *Medico de Cámara*, a office which he effectively granted to him on the 11th o April 1715.[64]

Sometime towards the end of 1711 or the beginning o 1712, Higgins appears to have gone or to have been sent t Bayonne—possibly on a mission to the Queen Dowager, Mari Anne of Neuburg, Charles II's widow, who resided there ev since she had been banished from Spain. It would seem tha Her Majesty badly needed to be carefully looked after—an that not only for reasons of health[65] . . . . There, in the lovel old-fashioned town situated on the banks of the river Adou King Philip's *Medico de Cámara* met Mademoiselle Jeanne o Courtiade, " the witty, graceful, and virtuous "[66] twenty-tw years old[67] daughter of Doctor Jean Baptiste de Courtiad Physician-in-ordinary to the town of Bayonne, by Saubac de Nolibois his wife ; Higgins was then thirty-four years age. He proposed, was accepted and, on the 25th of Ap 1712, the couple were married in the Cathedral by one of th Vicars-General.[68] We know, from Saint-Simon, that th union proved a very happy one.[69] It was blessed by th birth, at Bayonne, on the 23rd of September 1715, of a s

who was christened on the following day and was called John Baptist after his maternal grandfather, Doctor de Courtiade, who held him on the baptismal font; his paternal grandmother, Mrs. Patrick Higgins, *née* Loftus, acted as godmother but, being absent, was represented at the ceremony by the Mayor of Bayonne's consort, Madame de Chalosse de Lalande.[70]

In the meantime, diplomatic negotiations having superseded military operations, and Philip V's sovereignty over Spain and the Indies having been formally established by virtue of the Treaty of Peace signed at Utrecht on the 13th of July 1713, it seemed as if the flames of war had been, at last, definitely extinguished in the Peninsula. Such, however, was not to be the case. Although evacuated by the Austrians in July and thus abandoned to its own resouces, Catalonia refused to acknowledge the Bourbon as its King. At all costs the ever unruly province was to be brought, once and for all, under His Catholic Majesty's sway. With the assistance of French troops lent him by Louis XIV and placed, together with his own, under the supreme command of the Duke of Berwick, on the 12th of July 1714, Philip laid siege to Barcelona, which two months later, to a day, surrendered at discretion after opposing the fiercest resistance to the furious onslaughts of the Franco-Spanish armies. Again, on this occasion, the Irish regiments gave, as it has been said of them, "numberless proofs of extraordinary intrepidity."[71]

During the siege and for many months after the reconquest of Barcelona, Higgins—who was still there in April of the following year—devoted himself unsparingly to the care of all the sick soldiers of the army; but the strain proved too much for him, his health being already impaired by the ill effects of the Catalonian climate. So he petitioned the King to be allowed to go and settle down in Madrid.[72]

On the 5th of February 1714, Marie-Louise of Savoy, Philip's beloved queen, had died. In vain had Adrian Helvétius, the Dutch physician, son of an alchemist of repute, been brought post-haste from Paris to Her Majesty's bedside; his efforts to save her life had not proved more successful than those of Monsieur Burlet, the King's Chief Physician,

and of his Spanish *confrères*.[73] The year had not yet come to an end when, on Christmas Eve, Philip had taken a new wife, Elizabeth Farnese, the niece and heiress of Anthony the last Duke of the reigning house of Parma.[74]

As, on the very eve of her wedding, the domineering and wilful bride had summarily dismissed from the Court the *Camarera Mayor*, the great Princess des Ursins,[75] Toby Bourke's friend and protector, so three years later, towards the beginning of March 1717, she was to cause Claude Burlet's expulsion.[76] As a result of the French Doctor's sudden disgrace, the reasons of which were not made public at the time,[77] the all important office of *Protomedico de Cámara* became vacant, and on the 24th of November the King conferred it on Higgins notwithstanding the fact that all the other Court Physicians happened to be his seniors.[78] Thus, through his own merits[79] and through these only, the exiled son of Erin attained the most exalted position which a medical man could aspire to in the Kingdom of Spain.

It was soon after this that, while travelling in the country, both the King and Queen fell ill, quite unexpectedly, in a place called La Torre de la Parada.[80] Higgins, who of course formed part of the royal suite, immediately did all that his science could suggest to check the progress of a disease which everyone feared might easily prove fatal; he is said to have saved the Sovereign's life by making him take an emetic.[81] Be this as it may, his treatment of the august patients soon restored them completely to health. As might well be expected, so brilliant a success could not fail to give rise to the most intense jealousy in medical circles;[82] but by this time the Irishman had become invulnerable: the King had unlimited confidence in him; and, as Sir Peter Redmond informed the Duke of Mar in a letter written him from Madrid on the 11th of July 1718, "His Catholic Majesty does not stir morning, noon or night without him."[83] Great as had been, at first, the jealousy roused by Higgins's unquestionably superior capacity among the men of "The Profession," it was not long in subsiding. On the 22nd of November he had the honour of being unanimously elected to the Presidency of the Royal

Academy of Medicine and Surgery of Seville,[84] in which, only a few months earlier, on the 17th of February, he had been received as an ordinary member.[85] I may as well add now that, on his term of office having come to an end on the 3rd of February 1720, he was re-elected unanimously, again, President of the Academy.[86]

In the autumn of the fateful year 1718, diplomatic relations between Spain and Great Britain having been broken off in consequence of the sinking, without declaration of war,[87] of the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean by Admiral Byng's squadron, Cardinal Alberoni, the omnipotent Prime Minister—or Dictator, as we should say to-day—infuriated by such a flagrant breach of international law, immediately ordered a series of reprisals to be made, including the seizure of all goods and vessels belonging to British subjects in the ports and harbours of Spain.[88] As a large proportion of such goods and vessels happened to be the property of Irish merchants established and trading in the Peninsula, Doctor Higgins was not slow in appealing to the King on behalf of his countrymen. His timely intervention produced the desired effect: Philip V declared that no confiscations nor reprisals should be made on the Irish Catholics then residing in his Kingdom or who might go there thereafter. On the 31st of October Sir Peter Redmond had the satisfaction of conveying so good a piece of news to David Nairne, James III's secretary, for his Master's information.[89] Higgins, who had always remained deeply attached to the land of his birth and had never ceased to spend most lavishly the great influence he possessed at the Spanish Court in the interest of his exiled countrymen, had once more, on this occasion, deserved wonderfully well of Ireland.

Towards the close of the year 1721 the Duke of Saint-Simon, appointed French Ambassador to Madrid, was slowly wending his way in the direction of Lerma when, on the 9th of December, having stopped at Villalmanzo, he suddenly developed an excessively high temperature, an unmistakable sign of the epidemic of smallpox which was then raging in the district.[90] On being informed of this unfortunate accident, Philip V hastened to dispatch his Chief Physician, in whom alone he

had confidence, to the sick diplomat's bedside, with strict instructions not to leave His Excellency a single moment ti such time as he would be entirely cured.[91] During the fort days that the two men remained together, practically isolate from the rest of the world, a very warm friendship was estal lished between them,[92] one which lasted for years after th Duke's return to France, as is shown by the very cordi correspondence which they faithfully kept up and of whic touching specimens have luckily come down to us.[93]

All the good Saint-Simon thought of the great Irish Docto who took such sympathetic and effective care of him, is to l found expressed in the two delightful pen pictures of hi which he drew later on.[94] Much as I should desire to quo abundantly from these, I feel I must refrain from doing so for the present at least; both are too lengthy to be given *extenso* and much too exquisite to be tampered with by n in any way. But is it not highly gratifying to our nation *amour-propre* that the famous memorialist had no hesitati in stating that, " all in all, he did not know whether it wou be too much to say that Higgins was the first physician Europe ! "[95] Coming from such a pen, so eloquent a tribu to the great professional merits of our countryman is o which, at all times, all Irish medical men would have eve reason for being intensely and legitimately proud of.

More honours were still in store for Doctor John Higgin whilst on the 7th of September 1722 Philip V bestowed up him the coveted title of Councillor of Castille,[96] on the 6th May 1724 his own Sovereign, James III, mindful of t numerous and great services rendered by him to the Jacob cause, created him a Knight and a Baronet.[97]

Five years later, on the 11th of October 1729, Sir Jo Higgins died in Seville[98] at the early age of fifty-one, leavi his widow in more than comfortable circumstances[99] and only son, John Baptist, a Cadet in the Royal Regiment Spanish Guards, well provided for in every possible way.[100]

NOTES

[1] *A Compendium of Irish Biography.* Dublin, 1878.
[2] *A Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography.* Dublin, 1928.
[3] *The Irish Abroad.* London, 1915.
[4] O'Callaghan. *Op. cit.*, Book IV., pp. 242-243 ; Book V., pp. 271-272; 277-278, 283.
[5] *Ibid.*, Book IV., p. 235 ; Book V., pp. 286-287.
[6] *Ibid.*, Book X., p. 606.
[7] Of this gallant " unknown warrior's " career, I have recently given a brief sketch in *The Irish Independent* (February 4, 1938), on the occasion of the inclusion in General Franco's Cabinet, as Minister for Air, of General Alfredo Kindelan descended from one of the members of the family who took service and settled down in Spain in the eighteenth century.
[8] Ruvigny and Raineval, The Marquis of. *The Jacobite Peerage.* Edinburgh, 1904. Part I, p. 20, and Part II, p. 201.
[9] B.N.P. *Fonds Français*, Dossiers Bleus., no. 3026, F.2, and 3076, F.36.
[10] Saint-Simon, *Mémoires de*, Nouvelle édition par A. de Boislisle. Paris, 1896, T. XII., p. 444, note 5.
[11] The Princess des Ursins was an intimate friend of the Cardinal's (Cf. Crutwell : *The Princess des Ursins.* London, 1927), and it may well have been through her that Bourke was introduced to His Eminence and, subsequently, taken into his service.
[12] Saint-Simon, *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 445, and T. XXXIX. Paris, 1927, p. 302.
[13] See *Le Mercure Galant.* Avril 1705, p. 426 ; Juillet 1705, p. 151 ; and Septembre 1708, p. 116. For Monsignor Zondadari's mission to Spain, see Pometti, Francesco. *Studii sul Pontificato di Clemente XI.* Roma, 1898, pp. 101-137.
[14] Vignau, Don Vicente, y de Uhagón, Don Francisco. *Indice de Pruebas de los Caballeros*, etc. Madrid, 1901, see also *Le Mercure Galant*, Septembre 1708, *loc. cit.*
[15] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit.*, T. XII., p. 445, note 5.
[16] Ruvigny and de Raineval. *Op. cit.*, Part I., p. 20. See also C. Cockayne G. E. : *The Complete Peerage.* London, 1912. Vol. II., p. 257.
[17] *Ibid.*, and also Part II., p. 191.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 232. See also *Calendar of the Stuart Papers preserved at Windsor Castle.* London, 1902. Vol. I., pp. 200-201.
[19] *Le Mercure Galant*, Juillet 1705, gives an interesting account (pp. 151-158) of Bourke's " entrée publique " into Madrid on the 30th of June.
[20] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 445.
[21] These letters, which are preserved in the *Archives du Ministère de la Guerre*, Paris, are no less than 195 in number ; the information contained therein has been made use of, to some extent, by François Combes who has published the first of the series in his *Lectures historiques à la Sorbonne et à l'Institut.* Paris. 1885. I got the whole collection transcribed for me with a view to publication.
[22] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 446.
[23] *Ibid.* note 1. See also *Le Mercure Galant.* Septembre 1708, p. 116.
[24] *Gazette d'Amsterdam.* Lettres de Madrid, 17 Octobre and 7 Novembre 1712.
[25] Although Bourke's mission to Sweden had already been decided upon in February,[a] it does not appear to have been officially announced in the press before May,[b] when the Spanish Government seem to have rather suddenly made up their mind to take no more heed of the political rumours which had, hitherto, induced them to make him postpone his departure.[c]
[26] A.G.S. *Estado. Legajo* 6660, (2263 Mod.)—Bourke's Memorandum to the King of Spain. Valencia, 22 Janvier 1720.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Gazette d'Amsterdam.* Lettre de Lisbonne, 20 Juillet 1715.
[29] A.G.S. *Estado. Loc. cit., Ms. cit.*

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[a] See Bourke's letter to Cardinal Gualterio, Madrid, 23 Février 1715. British Museum. *Add. MS.* 20307, F. 285vo. (Papers of Cardinal F. A. Gualterio).
[b] *Nouveau Mercure Galant*, and *The London Gazette*, no. 5326, May 1715.
[c] See Bourke's letters, Madrid, 6 Mai and 3 Juin 1715. B.M. *MS. cit.*, Ff. 301 and 303.

I had hoped that documents throwing some light on the negotiations which must have preceded Sir Toby's departure on his mission to Sweden might eventually be found in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of that country. I am sorry to say that an exhaustive search carried out there on my behalf at the request of Mr. Eriksson, late Consul for Sweden in Dublin, proved completely fruitless. I wish, nevertheless, to avail myself of this opportunity to thank here the Count Sten Leventhaupt for all the trouble he so kindly went to in this matter.

[30] *The Byng Papers.* Ed. by Brian Tunstall. Colchester, London & Eton. 1932. Vol. III., p. 189.

[31] A.G.S. *Estado. Loc. cit., Ms. cit.*

[32] *The Byng Papers. Loc. cit.*, p. 188. Sir George Byng to Josiah Burchett (who held the office of Secretary to the Admiralty) 25th September, 1715.

[33] *Ibid.*, and p. 189. Sir G. Byng to General J. Stanhope ; same date as above.

[34] A small sailing vessel, especially with a narrow stern.

[35] *The Byng Papers. Loc. cit.* Pp. 189-190. Sir G. Byng to General J. Stanhope ; see also *Ibid.*, p. 191. Sir G. Byng to Josiah Burchett ; same date " in the evening."

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193. From General J. Stanhope. Whitehall, 26th September, 1715.

[37] A.G.S. *Estado. Loc. cit., Ms. cit.*

[38] The word " famille " is used here by Sir Toby in the sense of " household."

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] The foregoing particulars regarding Lady Bourke's journey from England to Hamburg, her illness, her meeting with her husband, etc., are taken from Sir Toby's Memorandum to the King of Spain. A.G.S. *Estado. Loc. cit. Ms. cit.* See also his letters to Cardinal Gualterio : Hambourg, 31 Mars ; Aix-la-Chapelle, 9 Juin ; Paris, 3 et 17 Aoust ; Lion 29 Octobre 1716. B.M. *Add. Ms.* 20307 Ff. 308, 310, 312, 315, 317.

[41] On his arrival at Valencia, Bourke found himself faced by no less than forty-two lawsuits deliberately brought about, according to him, by the dealings of a magistrate who apparently, made no secret of the object he had in view when acting in such a manner—viz. : to win for himself Alberoni's good graces.[a] It was at the time Sir Toby was in Valencia—and, precisely, towards the middle of December 1719—that he received the heartrending news of the capture by Algerian pirates of both his wife and his two eldest children when on their way to rejoin him by sea.[b] Somewhat later he was to get full particulars of the dreadful tragedy which had occurred at the end of October. The " Tartan," on board of which his dear ones were being conveyed to Algiers, had been shipwrecked in a storm, and " Madame du Bourck," her son, a Mr. Arthur, and three servant maids who accompanied them, had been drowned ! An account of this drama of the sea I propose to publish some day.

[42] See Bourke's letter to Cardinal Gualterio. Madrid, 25 Aoust, 1725. B.M. *Add. Ms.* F. 384.

[43] Appointed " Grand Master of Her Majesty's Wardrobe," Sir Toby arrived in Paris in October 1725.[c]

[44] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, and Baudrillart, A. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, pp. 370-377. See also B.N.P. *Mss. Clairambault*, no. 1092. Ff. 130-133.

[45] O'Callaghan, J. C. *Op. cit.*, Book IV., p. 249. See also : Vignau, Don Vicente ; de Uhagón, Don Francisco. *Op. cit.*,—A.G.S. *Guerra Moderna. Legajo* 2476. Año 1725. —B.N.P. *Pièces Originales*, no. 1788, *Dossier* 41, 344. Ff. 3-4.

[46] Ruvigny and Raineval. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[47] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit.*, Paris, 1927. T. xxxix., p. 305, note 2.

[48] *Ibid.* Note 3.

[49] B.N.P. *Pièces Originales*, no. 1523, *Dossier* no. 34, 707, F.4. John Higgins's letter to James Terry, Madrid, 29th March 1723.—This letter has recently been published (not *in extenso*) by Mr. Charles E. Lart, in the first volume of a collection which promises to be extremely interesting and useful to the historian and, in particular, to the genealogist.[d]

The compiler of this work has failed to ascertain the identity of the Irish Herald correspondent—who happened also to be his cousin—owing to the fact that the pedigree drawn up by Terry on the 12th of June 1722 (of which he only found the title,[e] but the full text of which has fortunately come down to us) appears to have escaped his attention although it is contained in the same *Dossier* as that in which John Higgins's letter is preserved.[f] Included in the *Dossier* in question are two more letters of Higgins's, dated Balsain 8th June and 16th August 1723, in which he gives particulars regarding his wife.[g]

[50] Two documents, one of a public, the other of a private character, leave no doubt as to the profession of John Higgins's father. The first, John Higgins's own marriage

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[a] A.G.S. *Estado. Loc. cit., Ms. cit.*

[b] See Bourke's letter to Cardinal Gualterio. Valence. 30 Décembre 1719. B.M. *Add. Ms.* Ff. 331-333. See also : Saint-Simon. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 44.

[c] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 447, note 7. See also : Baudrillart . *Op. cit.*, Vol. III., Book III., chap. IV., p. 370.

[d] Lart, Charles E. *The Pedigrees and Papers of James Terry*, Athlone Herald. Exeter, 1938, Vol. I., p. 55.

[e] B.N.P. *Dossiers Bleus*, Vol. 358. *Dossier* no. 9278.

[f] *Ibid. Pièces Originales* no. 1523, *Dossier* no. 34707, F.11. no. II.

[g] *Ibid.* Ff. 8 and 9.

ntry,[a] in which the late Patrick Higgins is described as "*Docteur en médecine de son ivant*," the second, a letter written by William Terry to his brother James, from Cádiz, n the 11th April 1718,[b] in which the following lines occur : " Cousin John Higgins, *Doctor Higgins's son*, is first fisission (*sic*) to ye King of Spain, & realy he has got but his merit or he is generally beloved and respected."

[51] This is, I take it, *Annacotty*, described by P. W. Joyce as " now a small village on he river Mulkear, east of Limerick, called in Irish *Ath-na-Caite*, the ford of the *cot* or small oat.[c]

[52] In his letter of the 29th of March 1723, John Higgins informed James Terry that his Grandfather John Loftus was heir to the estate of Mungret neer Lymerick," adding : If I had what belongs to me I should enjoy several considerable tenements both in Lymerick and in the County."[d]

[53] Among a few genealogical notes, rather confusedly jotted down by James Terry, n two scraps of paper, which are preserved in the same *Dossier* as John Higgins's letters nd the draft pedigree drawn up for him by Athlone Herald,[e] the following—apparently verlooked by Mr. Lart[f]—is singularly interesting as it corroborates and completes the nformation given by John Higgins himself, in his letter of March the 29th, regarding his randfather : " *Stephen Higgins* father to Patrick, Thomas, and Daniell his Daughters Catherien, Mary and Margrett *said Stepn. was Bro. to Daniell Higgins that was put to Death by Earthen* (Ireton) *att Lymerick* along wth. Pursell Sr. Jefery Galway and Thomas Strich Esq. *sd. Stepn. was maryed to Onor Clancy of BallyBrican in the County Lymerick his father was Mallequias Higgins and Mary O'Callinan.*"[g]

[54] This date is only approximative. I have arrived at it by deducting 34, the age he s stated to have been at the time of his marriage, from 1712, the year in which this event ook place. See further p. 82, note 68.

[55] It is deserving of notice that, according to Saint-Simon, John Higgins had already aken the degree of Doctor of Medicine " *in various other Universities* " before he went o Montpellier.[h]

[56] Blanland-Stubbs, S. J. and Bligh, E. W. *Sixty Centuries of Health and physick* London, 1931, Chap. VIII., p. 98.

[57] *Ibid.* Chap. XV., p. 174.

[58] *Archives de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier.* I., 14. F.42.

I have to thank Mr. L. Gillet, Secretary of the Faculty, for a copy of this valuable locument which he only succeeded in finding after a prolonged and arduous search.

[59] See further notes 91 and 92.

[60] Saint-Simon, *Op. cit.* Paris, 1928. T. XL., *Appendice* p. 314.

[61] *Archives Historiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, Paris. *Fonds Espagne*, Vol. 171, pp. 124-125.

[62] Higgins's marriage entry.

[63] Macaulay, Lord : *Critical and Historical Essays* ed. by F. C. Montague. London. 1903. Vol. I., p. 528.

[64] These appointments and dates were found in the records of the *Real Academia Nacional de Medicina*, Madrid and communicated to me by Don Xavier Cortes, official attached to the Academy, in a letter dated 18th November 1927, for which I have much pleasure in thanking him here.

[65] The instructions given by Louis XIV. to his grandson at the moment of his departure for Spain, on the 5th of December 1700, are well known. Article XVI, which is entirely devoted to the Queen Dowager, is very significant. It reads as follows : " . . . . Wherever she is, observe her behaviour, and prevent her from interfering in any affairs. Be suspicious of those who have much to do with her."[i]

[66] Saint-Simon, *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 315.

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[a] See further p. 82 note 69.

[b] B.N.P. *Pièces Originales*, no. 2900, *Dossier* 64, 463, F.23.

[c] *The History and Origin of Irish names of Places*, Dublin, 1910. Vol. I., Part II., Chap. VI., p. 226.

[d] See Lart, Charles E. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[e] B.N.P. *Pièces Originales.* no. 1523. *Dossier* no. 34707. Ff.3 and 13.

[f] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 56.

[g] B.N.P. *Ms. cit.*, F.3. See also a similar but much shorter note, *Ibid.* F.13. For particulars regarding Dr. Daniel Higgins's activities in County Limerick during the War of the Confederation, see Begley, Canon John, M.R.I.A. *The Diocese of Limerick in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Dublin 1927. Chap. V., p. 219, Chap. VI., pp. 313, 329-331, and 336-337.

[h] Saint-Simon, *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 259.

[i] Crutwell, Maud. *Op. cit.*, Chap. VII., p. 50.

[67] She was born on the 24th of August 1689.

[68] John Higgins and Jeanne de Courtiade's marriage entry preserved in the *Archives Communales de Bayonne*, G. G. 56, F.46., where, together with various other document concerning John Higgins and his wife's family, it was discovered, transcribed, and graciously communicated to me by the Very Rev. V. Dubarat, Canon of the Cathedral of Bayonne.

Whilst looking through a collection of legal papers relating to the succession—half a century later—of the great Irish physician's only son and preserved in the *Archives de l'Hôpital de Bayonne*,[a] I came upon an abstract of the marriage settlement which, a few days prior to the wedding on the 17th of April, had been signed by the contracting parties before Maître de Monho, Notary Royal.

[69] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[70] A.C.B. G.G., 59, F.105. I am also indebted to the Very Rev. Canon V. Dubarat for a copy of the child's baptismal entry, from which above information is derived.

[71] O'Callaghan, J. C. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, pp. 291-292.

[72] A paper from the Marquis de Grimaldo to the Marquis de Bedmar, dated "Buen Retiro, 17 de Abril 1715" and containing a *précis* of the petition addressed by John Higgins to the King.—*Archivo General de la Real Casa y Patrimonio. Personal.* Letra H. *Legajo* 14.—I am infinitely obliged to D. Casto Ma. del Rivero, H.M. the King of Spain's General Archivist, for the numerous copies of documents relating to John Higgins and his son, which he kindly sent me some years ago, and which I have only now the opportunity of making use of.

[73] Crutwell, Maud. *Op. cit.*, Chap. XV., pp. 292-294.

[74] *Ibid.*, chap. XXII., p. 360.—As a matter of fact the marriage by proxy had already been celebrated in Parma, a week before the new Queen's departure for Spain.—*Ibid.* Chap. XX., p. 332.

[75] *Ibid.*, chap. XXI, and XXII.

[76] Baudrillart, A. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., Book II., Chap. II., p. 236.

Saint–Simon, however, attributes Dr. Burlet's disgrace and expulsion to Alberoni's "ombrages," which, I do not doubt, were due to the same cause.[b]

[77] See *The London Gazette*, no. 5523. March 1717.

[78] A.G.R.C.y P. *Reinado de Don Felipe V. Legajo* 321. See also: *The London Gazette*, no. 5598, December 1717.

[79] See above p. 81, note 50. William Terry's letter to his brother James, 11th April 1718.

[80] According to information contained in the records of the R.A.N.M., Madrid, and kindly communicated to me by Don Xavier Cortes (see above note 64), it would have been on this particular occasion that Dr. Higgins won for himself definitely Philip V's good graces and absolute confidence.

[81] The King appears to have been in very poor health during the years 1717 and 1718. Saint-Simon states it was in 1717 that his condition got so serious that his life was despaired of and that Doctor Higgins saved it by prescribing to him that very simple remedy.

[82] *Ibid.*

[83] Calendar of the Stuart Papers, etc. London, 1923. Vol. VII., p. 30.

[84] *Archivos de la Real Academia de Medicina y Cirugia de Sevilla. Documento* no. "Libro Original y Primitivo en que se hallan algunas ideas relativas al origen de la Sociedad los asientos de recibimiento de varios sujetos y ciertos acuerdos de elecciones hasta el año 1724." F.504.

I have to thank Don Antonio Gonzalez-Meneses y Jimenez, Archivist—Librarian of the Royal Academy of Medicine of Seville, for copies of this and of the two other documents quoted hereafter (notes 85 and 86) concerning John Higgins's membership and presidency of that learned body

It should be observed here that, in a footnote, the editor of Saint-Simon's *Mémoires* states that John Higgins was President of the *Société Royale de Médecine de Madrid*—this is, obviously, an error as the *Tertulia Literaria Médica*, founded in 1732 and, from the year 1736, renamed *Regia Matritense Academia*,[f] was not yet in existence at the time of Higgins's decease.[g]

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[a] B.S.F. 18. *Régistre pour les Immeubles, Effets. Noms, Raisons et Actions ainsi que pour les Charges de l'Hérédite de feu Mr. Higgins en faveur des Enfants trouvés à la charge de l'Hôpital Saint-Léon.*

[b] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 314.

[c] See the letters from Madrid, Lisbon and Paris in *The London Gazette.*

[d] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[e] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit.*, T. XXXIX., p. 63, note 3.

[f] These particulars are contained in Don Xavier Cortes's letter already referred to above).

[g] See further note 98.

[85] *Ibid.*, F.61.

[86] *Ibid.*, F.505.

[87] Fortescue, the Hon. J. H. *A History of the British Army*, Vol. II., London, 1899, Book VII., chap. I., p. 8.

[88] Great as, naturally, was the enthusiasm with which the first news of Admiral Byng's successful " coup " was received in England, greater still appear to have been the feelings of uneasiness, not to say anxiety, which rumours of an imminent rupture of diplomatic relations with Spain immediately gave rise to, especially among the trading community. Already on the 25th of August [5th of September] Hugh Thomas, writing from London to the Duke of Mar, informed him, as follows, of the grave apprehensions prevailing there : We know for certain that, if the King of Spain should declare war on us *and seize our merchants' effects*, it would cause such a run on our funds in the South Sea, East India, Bank and Exchequer as would inevitably destroy the Government . . . ."[a] Only a few days later, on the 12th of September, Sir Peter Redmond, who was then in Madrid, wrote from there to the Duke : " We expect every minute the war being declared *and reprisals made against the English* . . . ."[b] See also Hugh Thomas to the Duke of Mar, London, 1st [12th] September.[c]

The same to the same, London, 11th [22nd] September.[d]

On the 3rd of October, the Duke of Ormonde wrote to James III and to the Duke of Mar to let them know that the English merchants' effects had actually been confiscated,[e] thus confirming the news contained in a letter addressed by Sir Peter Redmond to Lieut-General Dillon, on the 19th of September, and forwarded by the latter to James III on the 3rd of October.[f]

See also Sir Peter Redmond to the Duke of Mar, Madrid, 10th of October.[g]

James Murray to the Duke of Mar, Ferrara, 14th of October.[h]

Sir Peter Redmond to the Duke of Mar, Madrid, 24th of October.[i]

[89] *Ibid.* p. 473.

It is not without interest to observe that, whilst Sir Peter Redmond was already then in a position to inform King James's Secretary of Philip V's decision in favour of the Irish Catholics, it was only on the 9th of November that the Spanish Monarch issued his " *Déclaration aux Négociants français établis en Espagne*," which was to the same effect.[j]

[90] Saint-Simon, *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 62.

[91] *Ibid.* p. 63.—The compliment was all the greater that the King had no other physician with him at the time. See Saint-Simon. *Op. cit.*, T. XL., p. 315.

[92] Saint-Simon, *Op. cit.*, T. XXXIX, p. 264, and T. XL., p. 315. See also Drumond, Edouard : *Papiers inédits du Duc de Saint-Simon*, Paris, 1880, p. 232.

[93] Copies of letters from Saint-Simon to Higgins are preserved in the *Archives Historiques du Ministère des Affaires-Etrangères*. Paris, *Fonds Espagne*. Vol. 343, f. 98vo, and Vol. 352. Ff. 3vo., 4, 9, and 138.

[94] Saint-Simon, *Op. cit.*, T. XXXIX., pp. 259-261, and T. XL., pp. 314-316.

[95] *Ibid.*, T. XL., p. 314.

[96] A.R.C.y.P.—*Personal*, Letra H., *Legajo* 14.

The emoluments attached to this post of honour amounted to no less than 36,000 *Reales de Vellón* p.a.—On Sir John Higgins's decease, his widow petitioned the King that the Treasury should continue to pay her said sum for her maintenance and that of her only son.[k] This favour was duly conceded to her by Royal Decree dated November 1st, 1729.[l]

[97] Both the Marquis de Ruvigny[m] and Mr. G. E. Cockayne[n] have duly included " Dr. Higgins first Physician to the King of Spain " in their lists of Knights and Baronets created by James III, neither of them having succeeded, however, in ascertaining what was the Doctor's Christian name. Whilst the former, apparently impressed by the similitude of surnames, thought it fit to mention in a footnote, without any comment whatsoever, the fact that " a Thomas Higgins (*sic*) was appointed a Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber on the 27th of October 1701," the latter somewhat rashly seized upon what, evidently,

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[a] Calendar of the Stuart Papers, etc., *Loc. cit.*, p. 247.

[b] *Ibid.*, p. 275. [c] *Ibid.*, p. 276. [d] *Ibid.*, p. 316.

[e] *Ibid.* pp. 354 and 355. [f] *Ibid.* pp. 356-357. [g] *Ibid.* pp. 371-372.

[h] *Ibid.* p. 386.

[i] *Ibid.* pp. 435-436.

[j] Baudrillart, A. *Op cit.*, T. II., Paris, 1890. Livre II., chap. IV., pp. 321-322.

[k] A.H.B. *Loc. cit.*, f. 14.

[l] *Ibid.*

[m] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, p. 65.

[n] G. E. C. L. Cockayne. *The Complete Peerage*. London, 1910. Vol. V., *Jacobite Baronetcies* (1688-1768), p. 451.

was a thinly veiled suggestion on the part of the Marquis, and did not hesitate to advan the strange hypothesis that "*possibly* he [Thomas Higgins or Higgons] *was the grantee* of the Baronetcy, though "*there is no evidence of his having been a physician.*" Ha either Ruvigny or Cockayne glanced through the pages of John Ferrar's "History Limerick "[a] or of J. C. O'Callaghan's *Green Book*[b]—not to mention Saint-Simon's *Mémoir* and Baudrillart's great work on Philip V—they would easily have seen, not only th the Christian name of the King of Spain's physician was John, but also that, except for certain similitude of surnames and an equal devotion to the Stuart cause, Philip V "Protomédico" and James III's Secretary of State had absolutely nothing in common.

To such scanty biographical particulars about Sir Thomas Higgons, *not* Higgins, are to be found in *The Jacobite Peerage* and *The Complete Peerage*, I may add, by the wa that he died on the 19th of May 1733 at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he was buried the parish church. I have copied his funeral entry[c] and the inscription on his tombsto which can now be seen affixed to one of the walls on the staircase leading to the Municip Museum.

[98] After long and careful investigations in official and all other Spanish sources availab to me, I was almost resigned to fail—as the editor of the *Mémoires* had failed—to fi out *where* and *on what day of what month* Sir John died in the year 1729, when I was f tunate enough to find the much sought information in one of the papers contained in collection of legal documents already referred to above.[d] From a note included in t same collection, it appears that, on the 2nd of April 1721, Higgins and his wife had ma at the Royal residence of Buen Retiro, Madrid, a joint will by virtue of which they appoint their heir, John-Baptist Higgins, their only son, then between 5 and 6 years of ag According to John Ferrar, Sir John had hoped to get his nephew, Dr. James Nihil Limerick, appointed his successor in the office of first Physician to Philip V and, w that object in view, had invited him to join him in Spain, "but he died when Dr. N was at Cádiz on his way to Madrid."[f]

[99] This appears from the inventory of Sir John's estate drawn up, after his dea at his widow's request, by Maître Duclerq, Notary Public, at Bayonne, on the 21st August 1730.[g]

Lady Higgins got married again—in what year exactly I cannot tell, but it certai was before June 1737[h]—to Jean-Baptiste Le Gendre, Chief Surgeon to Philip V[i] who by decree dated 23rd December 1700, he had been authorized to accompany to Sp together with Michelet, Chief Physician, and Riqueur, Chief Apothecary.[j] On the 3 of April 1704, Le Gendre had been ennobled.[k] There was no issue from this marria The Editor of the *Mémoires* states that Le Gendre died in Spain, but does not even the approximate date of his decease, which, however, seems to have occurred before 30th of October 1750.[m] Madame Le Gendre survived her husband and got a share of succession.[n] She made her will on the 2nd of February 1764[o] at Bayonne, where she d aged 74, on the 8th of May and was buried, on the 10th, in the cloister of the cathedra

[100] Although the information which I have gathered here and there regarding officer's career can hardly be considered as of sufficient historical interest to justify publication of a special biographical notice, yet I may decide some day, should the op tunity arise, to pay this little tribute to the memory of the illustrious Limerick physici son—a good soldier, a generous philanthropist, and above all an Irishman so inter Irish at heart that, at one time, his superiors seem to have thought that he was too n so.

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[a] Limerick, 1787. *Appendix* no. XIII., p. 366. See further p. note 10

[b] Dublin, 1845. Chap. VIII., p. 178, note X.

[c] Église Paroissiale de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. *Régistre des Naissa Mariages et Décès pour l'Année* 1733. [d] A.H.B. B. 6., f. 18. [e] *Ibia*

[f] Ferrar, John. *Op. cit., loc. cit.* [g] A. H. B. *Loc. cit.*, F. 18.

[h] *Archives Notariales Delissalde-Loustalet*, Bayonne. 31 Juillet 1737.—A t script of this document, containing the first mention I have found of "dame Je de Cortiade (*sic*) épouse de Jean-Baptiste Joseph Le Gendre," was kindly g me by the Very Rev. Canon Dubarat.

[i] A. H. B. *Loc. cit.*, F. 14.

[j] Saint-Simon. *Op. cit.*, Paris, 1921, T. XXXII., p. 400, note 2. *Add et Corrections.* [k] *Ibid.*

[l] Le Gendre had been married previously to a certain Madeleine Moquet, whom he had had a son and a daughter. See *Archives Notariales, Delis Loustalet*, Bayonne. *Loc. cit.*

[m] A. H. B. *Loc. cit.* [n] *Ibid.* [o] *Ibid.*, F. 18.

[p] See her funeral entry: A. C. B., G. G., F. 127.

SAINT FRANCIS REGIS*

BY PROFESSOR MARY RYAN, M.A.

SAINT JEAN-FRANÇOIS RÉGIS, *anglice* St. Francis Regis, is not a widely known saint, even in France. ut his cult is intense in Languedoc, especially in the Cévennes ıountains. His latest biographer—who has spared no pains ı his search for documents and in his investigation of local 'aditions so as to produce a detailed and critically exact life—ells the following story. During a pilgrimage of the men of rance to Lourdes, the director invited the pilgrims to implore ıe prayers of all the saints of France. At the end of the ong litany there was a stir among the men from the Vivarais : ıeir beloved saint and apostle had been forgotten ! They ıet in protest and raised their three hundred voices as one ıan in three ringing invocations.

John Francis Regis was born in 1597 in the tiny fortress own of Fontcouverte, on a hill in the wind-swept and sun-corched plain of southern Languedoc. The name Regis was riginally a patronymic, latinised from Rey or Roy. The nmediate Regis ancestors had been men of the law and ıerchants. Father and uncle had been captains in the army f the *Ligue*, for they were good Catholics in Fontcouverte ; ut had rallied to Henry IV. They had at this time acquired ome pretensions to nobility, and led the simple existence of ıinor landed proprietors in the little town of which they were he most notable citizens. The mother—whose identity is isputed (P. Guitton holds to the tradition that she was Iadeleine d'Arse)—was of noble family ; she was gentle and ıtuitive, understanding the high-strung, sensitive nature of er second son John Francis.

The country was just emerging from thirty-six years of

* *Saint Jean-François Régis.* Par Georges Guitton, S.J. (Editions Spes. 1937.) fr.)

St. François Régis. Par Joseph Vianey. Collection " Les Saints " (Lecoffre, ne édition 1931).

St. François Régis. Par Marguerite Perroy. (Marseille 1933).

La Renaissance catholique en France au XVIIe *siècle.* Par L. Prunel (Paris 1921).

civil war waged in the name of religion. It had raged more fiercely in Languedoc than elsewhere, perhaps because of the mountainous nature of the country and the number of fortified towns easily defended and controlled by a resolute chief. The warring partisans in the wild inaccessible mountain districts had added the violence of their natural disposition to that of the passions unloosed by civil war. Catholic historians record that the ordinary people had easily fallen a prey to heresy, owing in part to the neglect of indifferent and absentee bishops and the consequent inefficiency of many of the clergy.

The memories of terrible happenings were very vivid when Francis was a little boy. "When at certain festivals old companions in arms, veteran Leaguers, gathered at Font couverte, reminiscences grew noisier. Dangers incurred together—ambushes, surprises, wounds, attacks—were recalled in turn. No doubt also the Huguenot excesses which had roused the inhabitants to fury: the smashing of pictures and statues, the profanation of Hosts, the sack of cathedrals as at Castres, frightful scenes of carnage like the 'Michelade' of Nîmes or the massacres in Béarn carried out by Montgommery of the Scottish Guard—all giving rise to terrible reprisals dictated only by the cry 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth'. It is quite probable that all this, as P. Guitton suggests, caused a different reaction in the gentle prayerful boy—enterprising, joyous, and boy-like though he was—and was at the bottom of his later conspicuous love of Christ-like conciliation. Meantime he was getting his first education from a local teacher, playing with the little town-boys, scrambling over the hills with them, knowing their habits and speaking their dialect: valuable assets in his later life.

At fifteen, in 1612, he went to the Jesuit college at Bézier. What we may call the Jesuit background of St. Francis's life is so interesting in itself and throws so much light on the education of the period that we may delay over some typical details. The Jesuit colleges springing up everywhere, whether

[1] See Vianey, pp. 22 and 23, but also p. 84. His book gives, vividly and succinctly the historical and topographical background of the saint's life, and is an excellent introduction to the larger and more detailed work. His picturesque account of Le Puy is particularly interesting.

econdary or for higher education, were under the still recent mpetus of their founder's spirit, in the first vigour of their ducational energy. The town of Béziers had been loyal o Henry IV in his fight for the throne, and got his authority n 1594 to found a college. It was opened in 1598 under a rincipal of his choice. But the staff proved so unmanageable hat the consuls (*i.e.* city magistrates) called in the Jesuits in 599: it was unreasonable, they thought, to close down a ollege through the fault of professors who were all the time uarrelling and disputing, which was very bad example for outh! By 1612 the number of pupils had risen from 60 to 00. As in all the Jesuit colleges at the time, the teaching vas free and public. The boys were scattered in groups hrough the town in houses which, however, the rector had he right to inspect monthly. There is extant a list of pupils n another Jesuit college, Billom, which gives us the composition f the school. In a given year there were 653 pupils. There were 164 sons of farming people, 83 of shopkeepers, 114 from various ranks of the law, 44 of well-to-do citizens, 32 of tax-collectors and officials, 23 of nobles, 21 of city dignitaries, 21 of clerks and scribes. Varying smaller numbers were sons of innkeepers, shoemakers, tanners, saddlers, magistrates, doctors, apothecaries, barber-surgeons, weavers, tailors, carpenters, millers, bakers, butchers, blacksmiths, muleteers, soldiers. There were two sons of seed-merchants, two of masons, two of potters; and the list dwindles down to ones, amongst which figure a torchmaker, a haberdasher, a sabot-maker, a lute-maker, a labourer, a Rome agent, a judge, a nobleman, and one of the first gentlemen of the king. A Christian democracy indeed! Not long afterwards the future "great Condé," a prince of the blood, sat in the classes of the Jesuit college at Bourges where "the only distinction between himself and the other pupils consisted of a balustrade round his chair"[1]; and Molière in Paris, at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont, made friends with Condé's brother, the Prince de Conti.

[1] Désormeaux, *Histoire de Louis de Bourbon*, 1766, quoted by a commentator on Bossuet's *Oraison funèbre*.

Francis Regis spent four years at Béziers. He was in his element in a town full of religious fervour and the spirit of reparation: it had had its share of atrocities, massacres, sacrileges. He was an excellent pupil, a gay and lovable companion. He had a certain noble courteousness of manner, another of the qualities that he retained throughout life. With complete absence of human respect he was a member of several town sodalities and already led a really austere life.

Almost by a natural bent and without opposition from his family he went to the Jesuit novitiate at Toulouse in 1616, where he was a model novice—gentle, considerate for others, heroically rigorous and self-sacrificing, yet joyous and at times even humorously teasing. He began to be inspired with missionary zeal. Emulating Antoine Boret, a saintly retired magistrate who lived with the Jesuit novices, he took every chance he got of teaching catechism to children and the poor and of visiting the hospitals—a constant feature of his later life—where he performed the most lowly services to the sick.

After his first vows in 1618 he studied and taught successively at Auch and Cahors, then for three years at Billom and then went to Tournon from 1622—1625 for his philosophy. It is tempting to follow our biographer in a digression about Tournon. The Cardinal de Tournon, Francis I's great minister desiring in 1536 to do something for his native town, offered the consuls the choice between a college and a bridge over the Rhone. They opted for a college, which in 1541 was raised to the rank of a University. But " situated between Annonay and Valence, hotbeds of Calvinism, the college put up a poor defence against ' hypocritical masters,' grammarians without doctrine, who interpreted scripture according to their fancy," and the Cardinal called in the Jesuits in 1561. They were compelled to fly in 1562 in order to spare the town the ferocity of an attack by the dreaded Calvinist leader Des Adrets, but returned in ten months. Under them the College acquired great prestige. In 1605 there were 700 students, mostly noble, from all parts of France and from Switzerland, Germany

Italy, Flanders, "besides four Irishmen of very good birth and some Englishmen." This prestige aroused the jealousy of other universities, especially Valence, and its right to confer degrees was hotly contested. Louis XIII confirmed its privileges in 1622, but they were withdrawn in 1626. Similar jealousy in the 16th and early 17th century was a cause of much conflict between the older universities (often backed by the Parlements) and the Jesuits.

From Tournon Francis went for two years to Le Puy, where he taught in the College and preached in the neighbouring villages. He was beloved everywhere and came to be described as *le grand Sympathique*. At Le Puy he exercised a tremendous religious influence on his pupils, one of whom, Jacques Guigon, recovered from a very dangerous illness in a remarkable way after a visit from him. On Sundays and festivals he preached in the villages, and it was said that the "Holy Ghost was on his tongue." It was at this time that he made the acquaintance of the bishop, Just de Serres, who was later to be his great backer in his moral and social reforms.

In 1628 Francis went to Toulouse to study theology, but the normal routine of study was sadly broken. During the minority of Louis XIII the Huguenots had reared their heads anew. They broke out into open revolt in Languedoc at intervals from 1620 to 1629. The war raged fiercely under the chief leadership of the Duc de Rohan, the blaze being fanned by the separatist spirit of the province: the Catholic Montmorency was to rebel again in 1632. And in the train of war came plague, of which there were terrible outbreaks from 1628 to 1631. Famine and winter cold aggravated the conditions in Toulouse. The capitouls (*i.e.* magistrates of Toulouse) did their best to isolate the plague-stricken in huts outside the town. "All the officials of the Parlement, the doctors of the University . . . . and the citizens who had any place of refuge in the country deserted the town. The populace, adding the horrors of debauch and brigandage to despair and famine, took advantage of the exodus to claim impunity." The plague-stricken, four in a hut, fought for the food that was thrown to them. The doctors lost courage.

In the summer of 1631 the horror reached its paroxysm, for the crops had failed and the town was inundated with beggars from the country. All over the south the Jesuits signalized themselves in the service of the sick, and in three years ninety-seven died at the task. Francis longed to help, but was sent with the other students to a safe distance. He succeeded, however, in getting his study period shortened—thereby forfeiting the privilege of becoming a professed member of the Society—and in having the date of his ordination advanced. He thus achieved his desire not only to visit and nurse the sick, but to help them by his priestly ministry. This combination of spiritual work with works of mercy is henceforth characteristic of all his activity. He was ordained in 1630.

Early in 1631, for the only time, he revisited his native place. He was called in to settle disputes about money and property which had arisen among his relatives. Fontcouverte had suffered much by the incursions of armed bands, who went about sacking, pillaging, levying ransom, spreading moral and material disorder; and it was then actually occupied by soldiers. Francis visited the miserably poor, begged for them and, still worse, was actually seen one day, regardless of the jeering soldiers in the market place, carrying a mattress on his back to a poor house. He organised a sort of mission which was so successful that from that time onwards his superiors recognised his extraordinary fitness for that kind of work. Thus informally began the continuous series of missions which, after a shortened tertianship and a few months teaching at Pamiers, was never long interrupted until his death in 1640.

A "mission," such as St. Francis Regis gave in those days, was something very different from what the word suggests to us. We must remember that the long drawn-out wars, the plague, famine and poverty had supervened on the paganising influences of the Renaissance and on laxity among the clergy, high and low, in a period of vigorous undisciplined spirits. The countrysides were wild and inaccessible, central control very hard to exercise. There was pretty widespread relaxation of morals and religious ignorance. Mgr. Prun

quotes Abelly, the first biographer of St. Vincent de Paul, who speaks of "churches destroyed, altars torn down, the most sacred things profaned, priests massacred," but adds: "The greatest and most fatal of all those evils was the almost universal overthrow of order and of ecclesiastical discipline . . . The simple people, and especially those of the country districts, were not instructed or served as they should be in their spiritual needs." But, as Mgr. Prunel writes elsewhere, "the history of the Church is made up of resurrections," and that was a period of tremendous revival. The work of St. Francis de Sales and of St. Vincent de Paul is well known; hardly less so that of Bérulle, Bourdoise, Olier, St. John Eudes. Seminaries were founded, religious orders were brought back to their ideal, successive governments aimed at appointing good bishops. It is heartening to meet, in the life of St. Francis Regis, bishops like Louis de Suze of Viviers and Just de Serre of Le Puy who used him and other missionaries to the full for the religious awakening of their dioceses. At that period also Brittany was evangelized by Michel Le Nobletz, Normandy by St. John Eudes, Lorraine by St. Peter Fourier, Provence by Antoine Yvan, Burgundy and Champagne by Jean Le Jeune.

In the region of which he became the veritable apostle, St. Francis Regis stands out among all the other missionaries, of whatever order, by his untiring work, his original methods, his irresistible personality, all made fruitful by his extraordinary holiness. It is impossible to follow his journeys in detail. We can only give some dates and a few typical examples of his work.

Between 1632 and 1636 St. Francis preached at Montpellier and Sommières, at Privas and other strongholds of Calvinism. Montpellier had seen a fierce massacre of Catholics in 1561. In 1621, on the revolt of the Duc de Rohan, it was again a prey to the *terreur huguenote*. After the bloodiest struggle of the whole period it had surrendered in 1622 to Louis XIII, but not one of its seventy-four churches was left standing. The intrepid bishop, Pierre de Fenoillet, got the royal permission to give the college to the Jesuits in 1629.

Capuchin missionaries—the famous Père Joseph was sending them out all over the country at the desire of Richelieu—had done some work there. In this field St. Francis Regis began to use the methods which, adapted to local circumstances, were to bear such extraordinary fruit. In hostile places he began by attracting the children. He summed up his instructions in verses which they sang with gusto, and this gradually attracted the parents. The saint's preaching was so simple that at Sommières his young companion reproached him with neglecting that due attention to eloquence which might attract hearers! His gentleness drew Huguenots as well as Catholics; and he showed special zeal for women of evil life. He relieved the poor and tended the sick, inducing doctors, apothecaries and nurses to help him. Like his contemporary St. Vincent de Paul, he visited hospitals and prisons and arranged for organised visitation by pious ladies. He set up the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament where possible. With complete disregard of food and rest, he spent long hours hearing confessions, especially of the poor. Above all, "he gave example of cheerful austerity and the habit of living entirely on alms begged from day to day."

In 1636 St. Francis was recalled to Le Puy. In the summer months there his Sunday catechisms, accompanied by singing and dialogue, drew vast crowds—from four to five thousand listeners; and at the same time he was untiringly assiduous in the confessional. His example was contagious and other priests began to imitate him. His ingenuity was remarkable. He preached special sermons to the street-porters, a quarrelsome and coarse-spoken lot of people; to the haymakers and harvesters, whose seasonal work brought them to the town. He organized relief for the poor—there was great poverty and great scarcity of food as a result of the wars—and arranged with the most business-like detail for visitation of the sick and the prisons. He was arbitrator in disputes, sought justice through the law, relieved debtors, got houses built for workers, opened a sort of jumble store, established a refuge for penitent women. This brought him much opposition and obloquy, attacks on his life and person, disapproval even from the

clergy and his own superiors. But the bishop, Just de Serres, stood by him.

Lastly, St. Francis Regis took a keen interest in the crisis in the lace-making industry, which occupied as many as 40,000 women in the district. Partly to stem the tide of wasteful luxury, partly to keep the middle classes from aping the aristocracy, partly to prevent costly imports from Holland and other places—how modern that sounds!—sumptuary edicts had already been issued in 1620, 1623, 1625. In 1633 all lace and embroidery not made in the kingdom, or exceeding a certain price and width, or used on towels, table-napkins, sheets, high-boots and carriages (!) were prohibited. Severe penalties were enacted in 1636. But the sweeping edict of January 1640 surpassed all the others. Within eight days, under penalty of heavy fines, "no one, irrespective of sex or rank or condition, was to wear on coat, dress, cloak, or rabat any sort of lace, whether of silk or white thread", further, no ornament of any sort or kind was to be worn on any part or accessory of the costume. A memoirist of the time adds that there was a secondary reason for this violent measure, which also sounds extremely modern: all the humbler folk being engaged in lace-making, the middle and upper classes "found neither men nor maid-servants to serve them." The panic-stricken lace-makers appealed to Francis, who comforted them with the assurance that the decree would not last and that the industry would recover and even prosper. The decree was in fact withdrawn, and the people credited him with this result. Since he had influential friends in the legal world of Le Puy and Toulouse—whose Parlement could refuse to publish royal decrees—it is possible that he had used his influence. At any rate, he has ever since been the patron of the lace-makers.

It is impossible to follow the saint in his winter campaigns up and down the mountains, in the winds and snowdrifts, and in wolf-infested forests, where the villages bear such suggestive names as Fay-le-Froid, St. Bonnet-le-Froid. He tramped with a brother from place to place. On one occasion he was lost for three weeks, snowbound in a remote little

farmhouse. Fay-le-Froid is so exposed that the great mission cross in the market place has to be stayed to the ground with strong chains, and there on his arrival he immediately preached to the people in the open. Going to the village of Marlhes, he and his companion went astray one night: "We were two whole hours wandering in the woods and mountains, up and down in the ice, in steep places, not knowing where we were going. The darkness, the deep snow, the yelling of the wolves which abound there, were horrible." The priest of Marlhes describes his activities by day: "People came from afar to hear him, and he fired them by his sermons and his least words. So much so that when he made his recruiting expeditions to gather in the lost and scattered sheep, neither rain nor piercing wind could stop those who flocked round him. Peasants waited at the cross-roads and joined the caravan. I have seen him with my own eyes, in the bitterest weather, compelled to stop in a clearing to satisfy those who wanted a word of salvation from him. I have seen him, at such moments, preach standing on a heap of hardened snow without his or his auditors' seeming to mind the cold. Sometimes this ice pulpit or a rock served him as a confessional. Days like that, when he got back to the village, did not prevent him from giving instructions and receiving penitents up to very late at night. In one month he heard more than two thousand confessions in my parish. He sometimes gave communion four or even five or six in the evening, by lamplight, to penitents who had remained fasting . . . . I did not know my parishioners, so transformed were they." This curé was so anxious about the saint's health that he procured a letter from his superior empowering him to make him rest and eat.

Francis worked first and foremost among the poor and outcast. But in the course of his short career of eight years he made friends here and there among the noble and well-to-do, and they gladly helped him in his work with their sympathy and resources. One of them, Louise de Romezin, he converted from Calvinism, and she became his ardent follower and coadjutor. The story of her conversion is interesting and surely typical. The saint was giving a missi-

t Montregard in 1639. Louise's grandfather, father, mother nd husband (only recently dead) had all been strong Calinists, and Louise was hotly loyal to their tradition. But ıe was moved by curiosity to go, first secretly and then penly, to hear "the holy father" who was rousing the eighbourhood. She had several interviews with him, but she id not surrender easily. "When at every turn I obstinately rought out against him a lot of Bible texts with which our ıinisters had filled my memory against Catholic truths and in articular against the reality of the Body of Jesus Christ in ıe adorable Eucharist . . . . the good father never said a ngle word that could offend me . . . . he looked and listened ith unexampled gentleness, only smiling at the ardour with hich I fought against the truth." And then one day "Father egis said just a few words on the truth of this mystery, nd suddenly there was a great light in my mind: I was so ersuaded that I had no further doubt."

In her deposition at the first investigation into the cause f the saint Louise confirms all that the curé of Marlhes tells s, adding that on his journeys "the whole way was spent ıstructing people and hearing their confessions, for he found impossible to refuse . . . . I saw what I say, having followed im myself, with a number of other people, from Montregard) Montfaucon, from Montfaucon to Raucoules, and from aucoules to Lalouvesc[1]."

Though, by all accounts, Francis was a man of fine physique nd inured from his boyhood to an active life, no human ame could stand the strain to which he put his. The saint ad planned to be at Montfaucon, an important centre at hich many roads converged, for the Epiphany of 1640. ut he was most unexpectedly recalled to Le Puy to replace master in the college, and it was then that occurred the reat distress of the lace-makers and the most violent attacks n his refuge, which he was able to foil. Was there behind ıe move some suppressed anxiety about his health? He rote on Palm-Sunday of that year to the Father General, ıying that he had done his catechetical work in the town

[1] To be pronounced "Lalouvé," says Vianey.

very persistently for four years: "Is it therefore any wonder that I am exhausted?" He begged permission to go back to his mountain missions, saying that pious persons had given money for the purpose and that he would not be a burden either on the college or on the curés. Permission and full approval were given.

Early in the winter of 1640 he was at Montfaucon, Raucoules, Montregard and other villages. Then, suddenly, he made the long and unexpected tramp back to Le Puy, where he arrived on December 13th. "I have interrupted my missions to prepare to die well," he told one of his astonished brethren. After a three days' retreat, ending in a general confession, he resisted all supplications to prolong his stay. He was due at the village of Lalouvesc on December 23rd. On the way thither he was delayed at Raucoules, started out late with his companion, got lost in the woods and, after an exhausting walk, spent the night in a miserably cold shelter. After a short sleep he woke with fever, but started again and walked for three hours. He reached Lalouvesc on Christmas Eve morning, still fasting. He said Mass, preached, heard confessions all day and all night. On Christmas Day he said his three Masses, preached three times, heard confessions again throughout the day. On the 26th he said Mass—his last—and began to hear confessions in the thronged church, but fainted and had to be carried to the curé's house—and to its only bed. Having recovered from his faint, he heard twenty more confessions. But pleurisy or pneumonia had developed, and though every effort was made to save him, he died, with all the marks of sanctity, just before midnight on December 31, 1640.

This brief account of a life so full of external activity, and cast in circumstances of such historical interest, would be very incomplete without a note on the saint's marvellous spirituality, which explains all the rest. P. Guitton supplies the means in his index, which is an index first and foremost to that. We have seen examples of his personal austerity, his love of the poor, his unwearying energy and patience, his gentleness: though this last quality went on occasion with

ourage and bluntness, amounting even to the use of physical orce. After the curé of Marlhes, who bore witness to the aint's labours for others, we have the curé of St. Bonnet-le-roid testifying to his nights of prayer: "Noting that ather Regis went out of his room secretly every night, I ad the curiosity to see where he went. I found him at the oor of the church on his knees, with hands joined and bare-eaded in spite of a violent and bitter wind. It was no use emonstrating with him on the danger he ran; and seeing im determined to continue his conversations with God, I ad to give him the key of the church, so that he might at ast be sheltered from the bitter air." His sanctity was ttested by many miracles: instantaneous conversions, speedy ecoveries from sickness, a miraculous multiplication of corn uring the scarcity at Le Puy. "Can we doubt," asks P. uitton, "that Regis was favoured with mystic graces? low can we explain, unless by an extraordinary penetration f divine strength, this superhuman endurance, this total ift of self to the interests of others, this complete contempt or the fascinations of earth? Only a very special indwelling f the Holy Spirit could produce such marvels."

Lalouvesc, where the saint died, was destined to become great place of pilgrimage—where others caught, as it were, is charitable and apostolic spirit. Perhaps the most illustrious ilgrim who ever went there was the future Curé d'Ars, who 1806 implored the saint to help him to learn enough Latin study and become a priest. Another pilgrim and future aint was Madeleine Sophie Barat, foundress of the Sacred Ieart nuns, who came there in 1836. Three religious con-regations directly owed their origin to the cult of St. Francis egis at Lalouvesc, of which the most original in conception nd the most widely diffused is that of Our Lady of the Cenacle, well known now in England, which was founded in the rst instance to shelter and direct the retreats of women lgrims to Lalouvesc.

MARY RYAN

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XLIX

THE BANQUET OF OUR SALVATION

DIARMUID Ó COÍCHAIG ecc;

1. Maith nach taithigh go teach fíoch,
teach cúirte choisgear eisfíodh;
do mhaithfeadh cóir chneadh ndoiligh
dóibh 'r an teach do thaithighidh.

2. Nár dhúinn diultadh a fhleidhe
ní fire ar fearr áirithe;
fleadh fe a hibe uaidh nach áil
ó chridhe fuair a forháil.

3. An toisg le dtáinig a-le
ceann fíodha na fé line,
ar mbeith féidh fa chrú an chroidhe,
a-nú féin do féadfoidhe.

4. Tuar báis an bheatha do féidhigh
—d'fhior uile nír eol foidhéimhe;
téid i ndiamhair chridhe i gcroich
dá fine d'iarraidh eolair.

5. Fiu an turcairtche chuig an mhuir
ura a-chách corrig an anfuidh
tonn báidh ór chaladh chroidhe
do dháil torradh trócaire.

6. Gér bheart cháir ceadh a ghoine
chuig Dia do dhruim ionmhaine,
ní dá choil fe crann do chur
troigh do bharr ar a bhronnadh.

7. Sé line leighirtear dhi
luidh far fearrdadh fuil cíche;
luidh fíadh do-cháidh fer gcneadhaibh
le fin ngrádh ar ngeinneamhain.

8. Rí leinb ir leir do cuipeaḋ
lion feilge fé dteaglaiġeaḋ ;
ġur cuipeaḋ leanb uainn fa fiaḋ
do-ċuaiḋ ar fealg ag fineaḋ.

9. Ceangal fíḋ ar fon a ġaoil
ġuair d'óiġ már obair ḋíomaoin
clann fiaġ d'oiġiḋ a n-aċar
ġniom fer ḋoiliġ dealaċaḋ.

10. D'fuil Ádaiṁ d'éir a ndearna
ní fríoċt leir luaċ oileaṁna,
do nór cloinne ar baḋ cáir cion
dá láiṁ 'n-ar ġcoinne cuirtiom.

11. Ciḋ beart doiliġ díol a ċneaḋ
bean ġaoil do ġaḋ ler ndídean ;
téid ag óiġ ar a hoiḋre
naċ léiġ cóir ġo comairle.

12. Braittear fealg 'n-a feilġ ċormail
fé fliġ ar é an fiaḋaċfoin ;
cú fealga an oiniġ nír fill
learga an troiġiġ ġur timċill.

13. Gan liaiġ do leiġear a ġon
an trear lá—liom d'iongnaḋ !—
mar do bí ar iocht an oiniġ
rí ón fiort daṁ n-ionnroiġiḋ.

14. Sgéal iongnaḋ d'fiar a ċneiḋe
fé fliġ d'iomċar d'éineirne ;
trom n-ualaiġ an croiḋe i ġcrann
oirne doḃ uaṁain d'fulang.

15. Fada a ċairḋe im ċóir a ġon,
biaiḋ lá bur lór do baoġal
baoġlaċ fór cóir na gcroiḋe ;
ní tór lóin ar lionmuirne.

16. Fuair le a roinn riġaċt nime
cnú beo báitear t'oirḃirne ;
do-bir bean do beiṫ 'n-a ḃun
do ṫeaġ ar breiṫ do briaḋḃaḋ.

17. Fuilngiḋ daṁ ngráḋ gun a ḃonn
luiḃ leigir ar lot nochom ;
neiṁ cneaḋ t'oiḋir ar féagaḋ
fear oinig do fuiléangaḋ.

18. Coill ḋíona ar díon na n-uile
maiṫ ḋóiḃ dlúṫ na fioḋḃuiḋe ;
do choill gráṁ i ndaingne ag dul
go bfailge fár na falaḋ.

19. Lot dá n-uair nir éigean rin
leanb Dé le díograir n-oinig;
a linn lúiḋ gur fear t'oiḋir
nir geaḃ ga ḋúil ḋeagoinig.

20. Cormail rin re rín dturraiḋ
fearṫoin naċ fáṫ urḋuḃaiḋ
do ċeilg álaḋ an deilg ḋuinn
a báḋaḋ fat feirg d'éantuinn.

21. Trom an torraḋ ṫáinig de
crann raoiṫa na ré line ;
do bí ar gcoill gan ċrann dtorraiḋ
i mbarr croinn gur ċlaonaḃair.

22. San ċruṫ ċéadna cuirṫear rib
réim do luiṫ i lo t'oigiḋ
goin do bí ar ċroir id ċride
rí a-noir muna neiṁnige.

23. Ádaṁ féin fréaṁ an ċeana
fuair fíoḋ ar ron t'oigeaḋa ;
már fear fagla ar dreire ar-dig
tarla meire dod ṁuinntir.

24. Breiṫ aimuil nir iongnaḋ de
raon deirg i ndeoig na frleige ;
rug doiṁne an ċroinn 'n-a ċrideb
cloinn t'oiḋre ar an áirideb.

25. Crann díona fer doirteaḋ t'fuil
mór ar fiu an t-éanċrann forgaiḋ ;
i mbarr croinn na ndealg ndoṁain
t'fearg ód ċloinn do congḃaḃair.

26. Do ġeallair dí dion a ġaoil
Muirne óg—dob fiu a cumaoin ;
ioc t'álaid dóib má dleaġair
flánaiġ le hóiġ t'oileamain.

27. Cóir 'n-a fuil an n-iarrfaid fri
leanb do čuit re taom n-oiniġ
eite lúid feirġe t'oirdir
teilġe do dúil deaġoiniġ.

28. An toirġ le dtáimiġ do nim
tuġ real le reilġ a činid
leanb tre čoill ndealġ 'n-a deaġaid
realġ i mbroinn do braičeabair.

29. Fada ar-teač i dtaob t'eirdir
fríoč leir lorġ dar bróindi ;
ór de čárraid coimde cáiġ
doimne an álaid nír folái.

30. Dá bruargliab féačaid a-nall
do-čí a ġaol i nglar ġobann ;
tre ġloin ngráid do-čí a ġcabair
rí 'r a báid re a bioddabaib.

31. D'ionġantaib airdrioġ nime
ġoin čiče im čár n-ainbrine ;
rí nime nír čóir ġan čloinn
ó čride do fóir orainn.

32. Rí ġan aġra éarca a ġon
ar ġaol bruar cá fearr téaġaid ?
mian ġaoil diočlaid a diomda
[i ndíočrad taoib] tiġiorna.

33. A mac ramla ro d'eineač
cia an rí ó n-uair imrideač ?
ní ar ar čeil an troiġeač tinn
do-beir don oineač uirrim.

34. Maič do čuill ar dtriall do nim
ré line do luač airdir ;
tuġ ó čride i n-am éiġne
fride i ġcrann dar ġcoimhéirone.

35. 1 mearg briobbad do bí ar fleid
fí an beatha—fa beart fuaicnid ;
fleag fan chride uaid foichar
fuair fine ar an éanorcar.

36. Táimig fir a fó toile
leanb Dé ar n-dul dar n-iongaire ;
fí ag guin a throigid fa a tréad
doilig do chuir le a gcoimhéad.

37. Fiu an macfoin maitheamh ar locht
clann buadha nar bearn t'ógacht ;
ceilt cóire na gcneadh gcroide
fet óige ir eadh altoige.

38. Beag dtarbha tagra a cána,
goin cíoga ir cairt fiochcána,
fa láimh fíog do féidig foinn
gach gnímh dar éirig eadroinn.

39. Mór na drioblaigthe dug di
a n-agáil gérb fiu Muire
—bean fíog nír chóir gan coibche—
ar ndíon ar óig d'éanoidhe.

40. Dá grádh féin ní fada fug
neimh chead far cheardda dearmud ;
neimh gon leir fóir an uile
cóir an col thier gcomhduine.

Translation

1. Woe to all who frequent not the Lord's house, the court-house for the checking lawlessness ; were they to frequent it, He would forgive them the debt due f the cruel wounds.

2. Shame for us not to go the banquet of the true undisputed Lord ; He shrank fro it but it was forced on Him by His love.

3. Now can be attained the purpose for which the great pacifier of the Six Generatio came down, namely, that we be no longer in fear owing to His blood.

4. Deadly dangerous was the pass He forced—no guide could have found a way throu it ; (riding) on the Cross, He goes through darkness of heart, guiding His fo

5. The ceasing of a storm is the more welcome for the wealth which the sea casts u the wave of love flowing over the shore of the heart has spread abundant weal of mercy.

6. A marvel (of generosity) was the permission which God in His love (of us) gave the Lord's wounding, yet the Lord's willing crucifixion was a step even beyo that generosity.

. The Six Generations are being cured by the herb over which flowed the breast-blood ; that soothing herb, grown in the warm weather of love, was applied to our wounds.

. The young King set his net to catch the Six Generations : the hunt (for us) continued till that youth of our race was placed by us on the wood (of the Cross).

. If the Virgin fail to get peace for her race dangerous will prove the slaying of their Father by His children, a crime the results of which are hard to escape from.

. After all He had done for Adam's race He did not get from them even the price of His fosterage ; yet like a lovable child He stretches out His two hands to them.

. Hard as was atonement for His wounds, our kinswoman undertook to save us ; the Virgin prevails over her Son and lets not justice be taken into account.

. A hunt is planned, a promising one, the Six Hosts being the quarry ; the hound of love stopped not its course till it had gone round the hillside of Christ's feet.

. Though no leech cured His wounds, the Lord on the third day came forth miraculously from the tomb to be with us, for He could not resist His love.

. 'Twas wonderful for one wounded as He was to bear the combined weight of the Six Hosts ; heavy-laden His heart—dread that burden !—on the Cross.

. Long is the respite He gives us to atone for His wounds, but a dread day is coming, that atonement still hangs over us ; " The first part of a feast is not the most plentiful."

. Mary, (like) a fresh fruit to allay Thy anger, has got the places in Heaven to distribute among us ; a woman being over Thy castle makes it accessible to Thy foes.

. In love for us He suffers the foot-wound, that healing-herb for our severe wounds ; only the greatest generosity, 'tis plain to see, could have borne the smart of Thy Son's wounds.

. Well for all men that the wood which gives them refuge is so dense ; may that wood of Thy grace get ever denser and hide our growing sins.

. God's Son's wounds borne in excessive love were not imposed on Him ; Thy Son spared not His generous heart till He had emptied His lake of life.

. The red nail-wound, being owing to Thy anger filled with a rush of blood, poured forth a heavy rain, a rain not causing darkness but presaging fine weather.

. Heavy the fruit of the tree which saved the Six Generations ; our wood contained not a single fruitful tree till Thou didst droop Thy head on the Cross.

. Thou hast the same appearance still, the mark of the wound received on Thy dying day, the wound through Thy heart on the Cross, still on Thee, though not now paining.

. Owing to Thy death, Adam, root of all our evil, was forgiven ; when he, Thy foe, has great power in Thy castle, surely I may be one of Thy household !

. With reason were folk puzzled at the red mark left by the spear ; it was the depth of that spear-thrust in His heart that brought Thy Son's race to their appointed end.

. Precious the great sheltering tree whereon was shed Thy blood ; hanging on that deep-pierced tree, Thou didst shelter Thy race from Thy own anger.

. Thou didst pledge the Virgin Mary—well she deserved it !—her children's salvation ; (therefore) if men have still to atone for Thy wounds (I can say) " Make good to the Virgin her nursing of Thee."

27. For the blood of Thy Son who died in transport of generous love wilt Thou seek atonement, (letting loose) Thy Son's swift-speeding anger ? if so Thou art shooting at Thy own generosity.

28. The Youth spent a time—'twas for this He came on earth—hunting His race, a hunt devised by Thee, beginning in the womb and afterwards through a forest of thorns.

29. The marks of His efforts to save us show deep on Thy Son's side ; the wound must have been deep, for the world's salvation came from it.

30. He looks forward to releasing His race whom He sees in prison-bonds ; in the mirror of His love He foresees their salvation, a king extending His love to His foes.

31. One of the Heavenly King's wondrous adventures was that His breast was pierced for His foes' sake ; (He felt) He had to have His children with Him, and saved us in all eagerness.

32. How better could He kindle the love of His cold-hearted race than by not demanding *éiric* for His wounds ? The Lord's kin-love caused His wrath to be buried in the recess of His side.

33. From what king did suppliant ever get such generosity ? He so valued His generosity and He paid no regard to (the torture to be inflicted on) His feet.

34. Well did He deserve to get the Six Generations as reward for His journey from Heaven ; in our hour of stress eagerly He rushed to the Cross to save us.

35. The world's Lord—what a sight it was !—sat at the feast with His foes ; He got the spear buried in His heart, and, as reward for that one thrust, wins His whole race.

36. His great love sustained God's Son when He came shepherding us, but as He got His feet wounded when seeking His flock, He found it hard to rescue them.

37. That child—child of wonder !—who harmed not thy virginity, won our sins' pardon for us ; thou (O Mary) canst thank thy virginity for the cancelling of the debt due to His wounds.

38. 'Twere useless for us to contest the Tribute, but the wounded breast is a charter for our pardon ; over His royal signature He settled all our differences with Him.

39. A king's wife should have a dowry ; great were the gifts—though well she deserves them !—which the Virgin got, namely, that our salvation should be entrusted to her as an only child.

40. 'Twas through His love for us that after some time His wounds ceased to smart ; 'twas fitting for Him to cease to feel them ; the pain of the wounds by which He had saved the world—'twas right for Him to check it so that we might be the safer.

NOTES

MS. : 23 D 14 104

1*b*. ᴛeᴀċ cúiɲᴛe may be guard-house (of castle) rather than court-house. 8*d*. ɾíneᴀḋ 15*d*. proverb of rather forced application here 19*a*. ḃɾu. *c*. lú *d*. ǥᴀḃ 20*d*. *Leg* ᴅá ḃá. ? 21*b*. uɲɲḋ. *d*. clᴀonᴀim (ceᴀnn) "I die" common 25*d*. -nǯṁᴀ- 27*cd*. ᴛeilǯim é "I shoot him" is found elsewhere but sense of couplet uncertain. 32*d*. ı nᴅíoċɲᴀḋ ᴛɾí 33*b*. ḃɾuᴀiɲ 33 ḃí ɾleiǯ 39*b*. ḃɾᴀǯáil *Dunadh* seems wanting.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RHEIMS AND DOUAY VERSION OF THE BIBLE

BY REV. F. HUGH POPE, O.P.

SOME of my readers may have heard over the wireless the other night that Monsignor Ronald Knox had been ommissioned by the Bishops of England to make a fresh ranslation of the Bible. Perhaps, too, they heard the nnouncer say that now for the first time English-speaking atholics were to have a version of their own. If they heard nat, I am sure they smiled at the man's ignorance. And rishmen ought to have smiled more than anybody; for the rish Bishops—for example Drs. Carpenter, Troy, Denvir and rolly—have done more than any to forward the publication f the Bible in the vernacular.

The preparation of a fresh version will present many roblems, and those interested in the venture may find it seful to know something of the origin of the Catholic version nd of the various vicissitudes through which it has passed uring the three hundred and fifty-seven years of its existence. 'his history falls into three distinct parts: (*a*) that of the five arlier editions, 1582-1738; (*b*) the revisions made by Dr. halloner and some attempts at a fresh translation, 1738-1781; :) the subsequent mutilations—it is not too strong a word—f Dr. Challoner's revision. To this we might add the years f frenzied attacks on the edition of 1582; these covered he years 1583-1618.

To begin with, let us get our terms right. We sometimes ear people talk of the Douay Bible as though it was a omogeneous production hailing from Douay. More correctly: he New Testament was translated at Rheims and was ublished in 1582; the Old Testament had already been ranslated at Douay, but for various reasons did not appear ill 1509 or two years before the publication of King James's ersion, known as the Authorized Version, in 1511.

There is no more interesting story than that of the making f the Rheims New Testament and the Douay Old Testament, nd of the lives and labours of the men who produced them. 'alvin and Luther had succeeded in cutting off much of

Europe from allegiance to the Church and the Sovereign Pontiff. The weirdest doctrines were being promulgated by all and sundry, and of course every would-be teacher was anxious to show that his views, and his only, were plainly taught in the Bible. Hence a veritable flood of translations of the most irresponsible kind appeared during the sixteenth century. The years 1525-1531 had witnessed the appearance of Tyndale's versions of the New Testament and of Jonas and the Pentateuch. Twelve editions of Coverdale's version of the whole Bible were published in the four years between 153 and 1539. The version by Thomas Mathew came in 1537 while Taverner's edition of Mathew's Bible went through eight editions between 1539 and 1551. These versions prepared the way for the so-called " Great " Bible, of which seven editions came out between 1539 and 1541 ; the last six of these had Cranmer's famous Preface prefixed—hence they are commonly known as Cranmer's Bibles.

Then came the Puritan Genevan Bible, often called " the breeches " Bible by reason of the rendering " breeches " for " garments," Genesis iii. 21. This was the most popular of all : between 1560—when it first appeared—and 1708 no less than seventy-seven editions were printed, while between 156 and 1613 seventeen editions of the New Testament alone were published. A distinctively Calvinistic production, it was translated into Italian in 1562 (within two years of its first appearance), while a French version came out in 161 Archbishop Parker tried to counteract its influence by producing " the Bishops' Bible " which, though distinctly popular never rivalled the Genevan version in this respect. Twenty-four editions, however, were published between 1568 and 160 and by 1619 sixteen editions of the New Testament alone had appeared.

Baronius quotes an interesting comment by Surius on the state of things prevailing at the time of the Diet of Worms, 1540 :—

" The heretics want the Bible to be the authority, but only on condition that it shall be for them to interpret it. But was there ever a heresy which would not gladly welcome the Bible as the sole arbi

n such conditions ? . . . We have no controversy with the heretics bout the Bible, but about the meaning of the Bible. They want to earth its meaning by aid of their own none too erudite brains ; we y that that meaning is to be discovered in the perpetual agreement the Catholic Church. But this idea they wholly repudiate ; for ey well know that their teachings, their false private opinions, diverge tirely from that public agreement of the entire Christian world. hey continue to spread the Bible abroad among the illiterate ; but arned men readily perceive that the genuine sense of the Bible can more make for their views than a lie can lead us to the truth. In ct how can they really be appealing in good faith to the Bible when ey have more than once changed not only their profession of faith t several of their dogmas ? Can the unchanging truth of the Divine riptures have any truck with such inconstancy ? "[1]

" We could remedy these evils," wrote Allen in 1578, " if e too had a Catholic version of the Bible, for all the English ersions are most corrupt." But before giving some account f the version which was immediately taken in hand, we must y something about the men who produced it.

Cardinal William Allen (1532-1594) went to Oxford in 546, where in 1550 he was unanimously elected Fellow of riel and six years later became Principal of St. Mary's Hall. le refused to conform to the Established Church ; indeed he elped many to take the same stand, besides making many nverts. At length he had to leave the country and went to ve at Louvain in 1561. Threatened, however, with con- mption, he had to seek his native air, coming into England disguise and working for the Faith for three years. His ctivities were resented, and he returned to Flanders in 1565 nd opened the College at Douay in 1568. When political rouble led to their expulsion from Douay, the College was moved to Rheims in 1578. In 1575 Allen was called to Rome, where he opened the English College. He finally took p his residence in Rome in 1585 and was created Cardinal by ixtus V in 1587. Philip II endeavoured to induce him to ccept the Archbishopric of Malines in 1589, but Allen stead- stly declined the honour. When it became necessary to evise the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate, Pope Gregory XIV

[1] *Annals*, xxi. A.D. 1540, no. 60.

placed Allen on the Commission created for that purpose ; and he, with Cardinal Mark Anthony Colonna, presided over the final Commission which sat at Zagorola and completed the work. Allen's name appears in the inscription, still visible on the gates of the palace at Zagorola, commemorating this event.

We are not here concerned with Allen's various apologetic writings, but only with his work on the Rheims and Douay versions of the Bible. He it was who forwarded that work and encouraged Gregory Martin in a laborious task which fatally undermined his health ; and he, with Richard Bristow, revised Martin's translation. Allen's sojourn in Flanders, 1565 and 1565-1578, had familiarised him with the work being done at Louvain in preparation for the production of a corrected edition of the Vulgate in accordance with the Tridentine Decree of 1546. There John Hentenius and Luke of Brugis published the Louvain Bible in 1547 ; of this no less than nine editions appeared between 1573 and 1594. Allen must thus have become familiar with the problems presented by the varying Latin texts and would be in a position to secure that the Rheims and Douay versions should be based upon as good an edition of the Vulgate as was then to be had.

GREGORY MARTIN was one of the original scholars of St. John's, Oxford, where for thirteen years he and Edmund Campion were close companions and where, too, he enjoyed an extraordinary reputation which found expression in the greeting given to the Duke of Norfolk when he visited the University with Martin who was then acting as tutor to His sons : " Thou hast, O illustrious Duke, our Hebraist, our Grecian, our poet, our honour and glory." Despite all this and the great career he might otherwise have had, Martin remained a staunch Catholic, refusing to " conform " as many did. When his patron was sent to the Tower, Martin fled to Douay in 1570, where he taught till the College was removed to Rheims in 1578. Here he translated the entire Bible into English, a work for which his familiarity with Hebrew and Greek made him peculiarly fit. He also wrote several controversial pamphlets ; but his fame rests mainly especially on his translation of the Bible and his " Discove

the manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the eretiks of our daies, especially the English Sectaries."

In the *Douay Diaries* there are but two brief references to is "magnum opus." Under date October 12, 1578, comes ie rather surprising entry: "We began to read the Life of alvin in the refectory," and then in the margin: "On ctober 16 or thereabouts Mr. Martin started translating the ible into English in the hope of thus providing an antidote the corrupt heretical versions which have been for so long misery to nearly everybody in our own land. With a view the speedy production of what will, we trust, prove an ceedingly useful work, he will translate two chapters a day; hile, to secure its exactitude, Drs. Allen and Bristowe will ad these carefully and, if need be, make any corrections hich prudence may demand." Four years later we have the ntalisingly brief note: "This month (March 1582) the final uches were given to the English version of the New estament."

But Martin's health had long given cause for anxiety: the iary notes: "On the last day of April (1582) Mr. Gregory artin went to Paris to recuperate, for he has long been ffering in his lungs." But his case was hopeless, and on ctober 28 we read: "Mr. Gregory Martin passed from this e" and there follows an account of the obsequies. Bristowe ad preceded him by a year, for he died on October 14, 1581. hat the loss of his two greatest supporters meant to Allen nstantly appears in his letters. Writing to Campion three ars before, he had spoken of them as "my most dear mpanions," while in the April of 1582 he writes: "I fear artin may—so far as this world is concerned—leave us, for has developed the same complaint as that which carried Bristowe," and once more (July 17, 1582): "The death Bristowe and Martin's illness have rendered me fit for little."

Richard Bristowe (1538-1581) was a convert to the Faith. e had been student and Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, t owing to his conversion went to Allen at Douay in 1569. ere he taught and wrote until 1578, when Allen put him in arge of the College which had been removed to Rheims.

Always delicate, he died at Harrow, where he had gone t recuperate, on October 14, 1581. His voluminous apologet work does not concern us here. He was appointed one of th revisers of Martin's translation of the Bible, and has le *Annotations on the New Testament* in manuscript; these a not, apparently, to be confused with those in the Rhein Testament, which (so far as we can learn) were the work Martin himself. His Life was written by Thomas Worthingto

Thomas Worthington left Oxford for Douay in 157 Later, on the English mission, he suffered the terrible torme of remaining in "the pit" for over two months. On h return to Douay he became President, dying in 1626. T him we owe the Notes appended to the version of the O Testament which was published in 1609-10.

None of these men actually shed their blood for the Fait though Worthington did, as we have seen, suffer imprisonmer But though not Martyrs in the strict sense of the term, th had all endured persecution and had all gone into exile the sake of their Faith. Moreover Martin and Bristo certainly ruined their health through their arduous labours providing their fellow-countrymen with a reliable version the Scriptures. They are, then, men of whom we should be proud and of whom we should speak with veneration.

Unfortunately too many Catholics are ready to sneer the English version as though it was a very inferior producti To arrive at a just appreciation of that version, and of work done by Martin in particular, we must understand w is meant by the Latin Vulgate (Vulgar) Bible and, also, w attitude towards it the Church has always held.

There had been at least one, probably several, Latin versi in existence since very early days—certainly from the sec century A.D. This translation was made from the Septua or Greek version and, like it, was known as the "commo or "vulgar" (in Latin "Vulgate") version. In proces time this version became corrupted through a multitud causes, and this to such an extent that St. Jerome undert to translate afresh from the original Hebrew of the Testament, though he had to be content with a correctio

he existing Latin version of the New Testament—which, of ourse, had been made from the original Greek. His version f the Old and his correction of the New Testament came in me to be known as the Vulgate Latin Bible, the earlier Latin ersion being called by scholars the "Old-Latin" version. he two existed side by side for some time with the result hat each corrupted the other. Attempts were made, between he ninth and the twelfth centuries, to recover St. Jerome's riginal text; but by the sixteenth century it had again ecome necessary to purify the text from errors which had ept in and which the invention of printing had made more aringly evident.

The Council of Trent faced the problem and after many eetings, covering from February 8 to April 8, 1546, the llowing Decree was formulated :—"The same Holy Synod, eling that it would be no small gain to the Church of God if were clearly stated which, of all the Latin editions of the criptures in circulation, is to be held authentic, hereby eclares & enacts that the well-known (haec ipsa) old Vulgate dition which has been proved by its long-continued use roughout so many enturies in the Church, is, in public con- rences, disputations, preachings and expositions, to be held authentic."[1]

This Decree was promulgated in 1546, but the fruit of the bours of many scholars did not appear till 1590 when the ixtine edition of the Vulgate appeared. Printers' errors to he number of some forty necessitated a new edition, and this as brought out by Clement VIII in 1592. But here again me eighty misprints made a fresh edition imperative, and is appeared in 1593 with fewer misprints—which, however, ere corrected in the final official edition of 1598. On the refront of Dr. Challoner's editions of the Rheims New estament occur the words: "Corrected according to the lementine edition of the Scriptures." This was rendered

[1] The expression "authentic" only meant that that version—of all the current Latin rsions—was to be regarded as the standard as being in substantial agreement with the ginals. It did not involve any disparagement of the originals, whether Hebrew or eek: nor did it detract from the value of other versions in other languages—*e.g.*, of e Septuagint version of the Old Testament or the Syriac versions of the New.

necessary by the fact that the Rheims version appeared in 1582 or eight years before the publication of the Sixtine Bible and sixteen years before the final official Clementine Vulgate.

Before considering the translation itself, we must examine the *Preface*. This is a very remarkable piece of work. The translators begin by pointing out that while vernacular versions of the Scriptures are not of absolute necessity, yet the appearance of so many heretical versions has, since Luther's revolt, made Catholic versions necessary in "almost all the principal Provinces of the Latin Church"; indeed, they add no other books are "so pernicious as heretical translations of the Scriptures, poisoning the people under colour of divine authority." The Church has, however, insisted—and notably at the Council of Trent—on the inadvisability of putting the Scriptures into the hands of all and sundry without discrimination. It is quite a false notion that in the days of the primitive Church everybody could or did read the Bible; for the most part the portions men knew and sang they had learned in church by hearing them read. Actual copies of the Sacred Books "were then in Libraries, Monasteries, Colleges, Churches; in Bishops, Priests and some devout principal Lay-mens hands, who used them with fear and reverence."

Nor did men in those days fancy that everyone was competent to be a teacher of the Bible, a point on which such men as St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great and St. Chrysostom waxed eloquent. After all, people have more right to resent guidance in their use of the Bible than they have to resent similar guidance in their use of the Sacraments. The common sneer that the Church does not permit the laity to read the Bible indiscriminately through fear lest they should learn too much is unworthy: "She forbiddeth not the reading of them in any language, envieth no man's convenience; but giveth order how to do it to edification, and not destruction." When St. Chrysostom complains of the neglect of Holy Scripture by the people of Antioch, he is referring to the prevailing ignorance touching the truths of faith and the moral teaching contained in the

ible; he certainly does not mean that all alike were to do men were urged to do in the sixteenth century: "employ emselves in dogmatical, mystical, high and hidden secrets God's counsels, as of Predestination, reprobation, election, escience, forsaking of the Jews, vocation of the Gentiles, id other incomprehensible mysteries."

The framers of the *Preface* then ask whether the present miserable state of our country in religion" is not due to is so-called "Open Bible." And they go on to point out at "the Protestants have by their false translation . . . lding, detracting, altering, transposing, pointing—especially here it serveth for the advantage of their private opinions" given the people, not Christ's word but their own wicked ncies. Calvin himself said: "Satan has gain'd more by ese new interpreters than he did before by keeping the word om the people."

The above considerations, then, have led to the production this new version, to which are appended Notes which are eemed necessary; "for just as the Jews could not discover rist in the Old Testament, so neither can the misguided aders of the heretical versions discover there the Church and er doctrines."

The translators then explain their Ten Reasons for translating from the Latin Vulgate rather than from the Greek of ie New Testament. They also explain that feature of their ork which has always been a source of annoyance:—

"In this our translation, because we wish it to be most sincere, as cometh a Catholick translation, & have endeavour'd so to make it; e are very precise & religious in following our copy, the old vulgar prov'd Latin; not only in sense, which we hope we always do, but metimes in the very words also & phrases: which may seem to the ulgar reader & to common English ears not yet acquainted therewith, deness or ignorance: but to the discreet reader that deeply weigheth considereth the importance of sacred words & speeches, & how sily the voluntary translator may miss the true sense of the Holy ost, we doubt not but our consideration & doing therein shall seem asonable & necessary: yea & that all sorts of Catholick Readers ll in short time think that familiar, which at the first may seem range, & will esteem it more when they shall otherwise be taught to derstand it, than if it were the common known English."

In accordance with the above they defend such renderin as "Amen, Amen," "Alleluia," "Corbona," "Parasceve "the Pascha," "the Feast of Azymes" and "the Bread Proposition." They argue that if "Proselyte" is allowab then why not "Neophyte"; if "Phyallacteries," why n "Didrachma," "Prepuce," "Paraclete," etc. ? Probably would agree that the translators made a mistake in insistin as they did, on adopting or retaining a phraseology whi even then seems to have been antiquated—*e.g.*, commes tions (Gal. v. 21), condigne (Rom. viii. 18), Dominical d (Apoc. 1. 10), donaries (Lk. xxi. 5), hostes for "sacrifice (1. Cor. x. 18 and throughout), repropitiate (Heb. ii. 1 Sabbatisme (Heb. iv. 9), Sages for the Magi (Matth. ii. Many of their renderings too are, to say the least of it, qua —*e.g.*, "a young man clothed with sindon on the bar (Mk. xiv. 51); "He that sits upon the throne was like face to the sardine" (Apoc. iv. 3), etc.

At the risk of anticipating the story of the bitter atta which followed the appearance of the new translation a which will form the subject of a further article, we m mention here a touching incident in the life of the unfor nate Mary, Queen of Scots, about five years after the f edition was published. When Mary offered to pledge her w upon the Rheims New Testament that she had not conspi against the life of Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of K exclaimed: "The book is a popish Testament, and of co an oath on it is of no value." "It is a Catholic Testamen rejoined the Queen, "and on that account I prize it the m and therefore according to your own reasoning you ought judge my oath the more satisfactory."[1]

F. Hugh Pop

[1] See J. R. Dore, *Old Bibles, an Account of the Early Versions of the English* 2nd ed., 1888, p. 306.

IRISH ASSOCIATIONS WITH NANTES

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

EXCEPT Paris alone there is, I think, no French town so redolent of Irish memories as Nantes. Between at city-port and Ireland close relations long existed, due ıong other causes to its nearness to the southern and stern Irish coasts and to its favourable situation on a once eat trade route. The intimate connection of the two is pecially disclosed in the civic annals as well as in the clesiastical and mercantile records of Nantes during the venteenth and eighteenth centuries. At that period, when was for a time the first port of France and one of the world's ost important cities, an Irish colony, established within it, ayed a part in its rich and coloured life. Irish ships and ilors were well-known in its crowded quaysides, Irish erchants figured among its most prosperous citizens, Irish igneurs were honoured among the nobility of its neighbour- ıod, and Irish students and scholars held high place in its lls of learning. And yet, sauntering about its streets to-day, ıe finds few outward relics of what was once a varied and timate association. An interesting landmark of the past es, indeed, still remain—it is the old Irish college where ung Irishmen received an ecclesiastical training for nearly o hundred years. It is now incorporated in a modern stitution, of which Nantes is justly proud, the *Musée Dobrée* ıusing a fine collection of national treasures.[1] There is, o, in the old church of St. Similien in the city's heart a riking memorial window of stained glass bearing the family ms of three Irish bishops—Barry, Comerford and O'Keeffe— ıo officiated there during their exile in the seventeenth and ghteenth centuries. And, again, casually entering the y's fine picture gallery, one is pleasantly surprised (as I ıs) to find a spacious room entirely devoted to artistic easures that were the gift of a member of an old Irish family

[1] I was informed by M. Chailloy, superintendent of the *Musée Dobrée*, that all Irish tiges of the old quarter round what was the Irish College disappeared with the con- ıction of the new building.

long settled in the city. Henry Clarke, Duke of Felt Napoleon's War Minister, the illustrious son of a Kilken man and the friend of Wolfe Tone in Paris, was its don and the *rue de Feltre*, beside the gallery, was so named recognition of his generous gift.

Though the close associations of Ireland and Nantes not begin till comparatively modern times, commercial int course existed between them from a remote period. T was fostered, as has been said, by their favourable situat on one of the greatest of Europe's old maritime trade rou In the early Christian period a considerable number, if most, of Ireland's missionaries and wandering scholars reac the continent by that route.[1] A favourable wind wo blow their ship in three days to Nantes from their native sh and thence they moved up the Loire on their journey eastw across France towards the Rhine or southward over the into Italy. Thus St. Columbanus with his twelve compan set out from Ireland, towards the end of the sixth centu on their great mission in a trading vessel which disembar them at Nantes. The condition of the church in Franc the time was, as a result of barbarian invasions, far f reputable, and the great Irishman flung himself into country, as Zimmer says, "with all the headlong courag his race, to be the champion of morals and apostle of civi tion." But, meeting with opposition, he was after some y banished by King Theuderic of Burgundy, by whose or he was conveyed down the Loire to Nantes and place board a vessel about to sail for Ireland. Immediately embarking, the vessel was driven by a strong tide, raise a sudden storm, high and dry on the shore where it rema for three days. Columbanus returned to Nantes, wher was welcomed and hospitably entertained before setting once more on his great work, and the name of the cit the Loire will always remain linked with that of Luxeuil Jumièges and Bobbio in his missionary wanderings.

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[1] St. Patrick arrived, as some maintain, at Nantes in a merchant ship from after his escape from slavery in Ulster.

Though, during mediaeval times, a steady overseas trade as maintained between Irish ports and those of France and rittany, it was not till the earlier years of the seventeenth ntury that Ireland's close association with Nantes began. his association had its origin in the religious and political orms that, beginning in the reign of Elizabeth, swept inter- ittently over Ireland for one hundred and fifty years and ove considerable numbers abroad.[1] Each outbreak of ersecution and each series of confiscations was marked by a esh exodus, and the favourable situation of the ports of rittany, and especially that of Nantes, made them havens of fuge for many. The first definite record of their coming to iat city in considerable numbers dates from the year 1605. estitute and half-naked, the Irish fugitives wandered in ands round the Breton countrysides and about the towns, here they became such a terror that the people in lonely stricts sometimes fled at their approach. At that period iere were all over western France intermittent epidemics of ie plague which, despite various measures adopted to prevent , was demanding a heavy toll in human lives. This was one of ie reasons, probably the main one, why a hostile feeling arose gainst the unfortunate exiles with their unkempt, starved ppearance. The Breton Parliament, among other legislative easures, decreed that ship captains, who brought these rangers from Ireland at a profit of a crown a head, should scontinue the traffic. In 1605 the Municipality of Nantes, o, ordered that the Irish vagabonds moving about the eighbourhood and threatening the city's health were to be nt away, and a sum of money was voted for the purpose. hese measures do not, however, seem to have been strictly nforced, and when it was realised that the vagrants were ctims of persecution, a more kindly feeling arose regarding

[1] As early as 1587 the municipal archives at Nantes show that some Irish ecclesiastics ught shelter in the city from the persecutions at home. An entry for that year states at the city granted six crowns as alms to the bishop of Mayo. It was given in con- eration of his destitution and old age and " of his banishment from his own country rough the violence of the heretics of Ireland and of the Queen of England who had spoiled him and driven him from his see."
In the earlier years of the seventeenth century Nantes, too, was one of the continental wns in whose archives, cathedral and monastic, Hugh Ward the Franciscan collected terials for the great work of saving the national traditions of his country.

them. It is, at any rate, within a few years of this perio that one can trace the foundation in the city of an Irish colon which was gradually to increase in numbers and was to la for nearly two hundred years. Thus up to the year 1625 t local records show that the following, among others, we naturalised and had established there *maisons de commissio* Patrice Hiré (Heary), Cornely O'Driscoll, Thomas Quirou (Kirwan), Jean Fagand (Fagan), Michael Hiré and Her Dillon. And such entries as these show that Irish famil were beginning to be reared in the city :—

Church of St. Leonard. 20 March 1601. Baptism of Charles, s of Felix Quinn and Renée Abraham.

Church of St. Clement. 15 December 1623. Baptism of Lou son of Charles McCarthy and Margaret Ninee (? Nerney, McInerne natives of the town of Kinsale, Ireland.

A generation later, the Cromwellian regime was to le to another exodus from Ireland, and Nantes again beca the refuge of many homeless exiles. Immediately bef this the city was, during the Insurrection of 1641, an act centre of help on the continent for the insurgent cause. T merchant vessels trading between it and Irish coast tow like Waterford, Cork and Dungarvan, after discharging th cargoes of fish, hides and other merchandise at the Fren seaport, brought back in exchange arms and military equ ment of various kinds. " Our men lack artillery and ammu tion," writes an agent of the Confederate army to Fat Luke Wadding in June 1642, and he goes on to say : " T ships are making ready at Nantes to carry all they ca Later in the same year another agent writes that " at Nan about 300 officers, gentlemen and soldiers, with some six sh full of powder and muskets," are about to sail for Irela And it was from Nantes that, after travelling overla Rinuccini the Papal envoy set out for Ireland in the autu of 1645. Within five years, however, the Irish cause hopelessly broken and, as has been said, another era of c fiscation and outlawry began. Dispossessed nobles, disban soldiers, banned ecclesiastics fled abroad, as did also m of the merchants who were driven from Kilkenny, Waterf

lway and other towns. Unlike the earlier refugees, those them who sought Nantes as a haven were hospitably received its citizens. A generous welcome was given particularly the many ecclesiastics who came there. Among these re several notable figures like Patrick Comerford, bishop of aterford, and Robert Barry, bishop of Cork. Both of them, ving warmly supported the militant policy of Rinuccini Ireland, were forced soon afterwards to flee the country. . Comerford, who arrived in Nantes in 1650, died a year er and was buried with much ceremonial in the cathedral. . Barry sought refuge there in 1652 and, after acting for ny years as assistant to its bishop, was on his death buried side his compatriot from Waterford.[1] In the summer of 55, too, a ship sailed up the Loire, bringing to the French y Archbishop Burke of Tuam of the noble house of Clan-kard, Bishop Kirwan of Killala and other banished Irishmen. isoners at Galway, they were led down to its quayside and aced on board the waiting convict vessel. And at this time, nong the Irish students at the university of Nantes was ichael Moore, who was afterwards for a short period Provost Trinity College, Dublin, and later Rector of the Sorbonne. he numbers of the little Irish colony, which had been slowly rming in the city, were now increased by the arrival of any of the merchants who had been proscribed under the romwellian regime at home. Their names—Lees, MacCarthys, lunketts, Lincolns, Everards, Sarsfields, Lombards—show at they came mainly from the towns of the south and east.[2] ollowing commercial careers in their new environment, a rge number of them functioned as agents of the Franco-Irish ade in hides, tallow, salted meat, etc.[3]

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[1] The memorial slabs, erected in the cathedral at the time of their death over the nains of these two Irish bishops, were destroyed at the time of the Revolution, and day there is no trace of their tombs.

[2] The Carte Papers state that, after the Restoration in 1660, some of the "banisht rchants of Waterford residing beyond the seas at Nantes, St. Malo, etc." petitioned e Duke of Ormond to be permitted to return to their native country. The petitioners re Lees, Lincolns, Hores, Everards, Geraldins, etc.

[3] Thus Paul Sarsfield is recorded in October 1670 as having received from Ireland 64 barrells of fresh and fifteen barrells of old butter." He belonged to a Limerick anch of the illustrious house of his name, and settled as a merchant at Nantes after e confiscation of the paternal estates at Knockigrena, Connello, Co. Limerick in 1653. s son, Sir James Sarsfield of Nantes, was knighted by James the Third in 1709, and

The municipal registers of Nantes for this period conta the entries of the city's births, deaths and marriages, amon which occur a certain number representative of its Iris colony. The following are a few typical examples of the latter :—

Church of St. Similien. 19 August 1656. Baptism of Catherin daughter of Philip O'Sullivan Beare (Irish gentleman) and Eleam Geraldine. God-father, Monsignor Patrick Plunkett, bishop of Ardag Godmother, Madame Catherine Turney, wife of Nicholas Plunke Chevalier of Kells.

Church of St. Nicholas. 9 June 1655. Funeral procession a interment of Daniel MacCarthy, Irish priest.

Church of St. Nicholas. 30 September 1664. Ignatius Hartig and Mary Dwyer, the former of the diocese of Limerick, Ireland, t latter of the diocese of Cashel, Ireland, were married by the Most R Dr. Barry, bishop of Cork.

Church of St. Nicholas. 1 February 1672. Rev. Monsignor Jo White, Oratorian, Doctor and Professor of Theology, gave the nupt blessing to the marriage of Paul Sarsfield, Esq., native of Ireland (n a merchant at the Fosse in Nantes) and Miss Guyonne Franc daughter of Antoine Francois, Seigneur de la Briondere, Counsel of the King, and Alderman of the city of Nantes.[1]

* * * * *

The third Irish settlement in Nantes—the last and greates followed the eclipse of the Jacobite cause in 1690. The d persal occasioned by this event, with its aftermath of p scription and forfeiture, continued well into the eighteen century. At first every tide brought shiploads of fugitiv

the latter's two sons were ennobled in France as Comte de Sarsfield and Viscount Sarsfield.

In the *Annales de Bretagne* (Tome XVII), M. E. Gabory, writing on *La Marin le Commerce de Nantes* (1661—1715), states : " The trade of Nantes with Ireland was m important than that with England. Relations were always maintained with that nat the constant enemy of England. Many Irishmen emigrated to Brittany and particul to Nantes, where they preserved the links between their motherland and their adop country.

" The commodities with which Ireland, poor and practically undeveloped, furnis us were of a limited kind. Salted beef was the main one . . . . The French ves after going to Ireland to get loaded, were obliged to return to a French port and th to set out for America . . . . The Irish, on their side, brought to Nantes herrings, saln butter, and tallow, and took away wine, salt and fruit. During their wars with Engl France supplied them with immense quantities of biscuits, to the export of which Na largely contributed."

[1] Other entries record the names of well-known resident Irish families—Lync Creaghs, Roches, Kirwans, Brownes, Walshes, etc.—who were victims of the Cromwe tyranny in Ireland.

) the northern and western harbour-towns of France. They ere, as before, landed proprietors, priests, soldiers, officers nd merchants, and, as before, Nantes became the asylum ' not a few. Many of these were destitute and were charitably elped for a time by the municipality. Many joined the French my or navy, while others went into commerce—in which, ; we shall see, fortune smiled on a certain number. Some of ie banished priests became military chaplains on land and a, some worked in the parishes and hospitals of the city, nd some, living at first on alms, formed themselves into a mmunity and partially supported themselves by teaching ie sons of the Irish merchants. This community, through ie generosity of the bishop of Nantes, was in 1694 presented ith a handsome house in the city, the Manoir de la Touche, 1 old residence of the Dukes of Brittany. It became the ish College which for a hundred years was to be, after that ' Paris, the most important Irish ecclesiastical seminary in urope, and which was to train young Irishmen during the enal period for their work as priests at home.[1] Regarding iose clergy who functioned in the city and the country out it, there are details concerning many of them in the gisters of the parishes to which they were attached. Thus lorence MacCarthy was curate of the church of Sainte-roix, and its register for the year 1699 ends with this note : *e livre a été fini par moi, vicaire de St Croix, Florentius lacCarthy, Corcagiensis, sacerdos hybernus, in sacra theologia ctor.* Cornelius O'Keeffe, Doctor of the Sorbonne, was rish priest of St. Similien from 1710 to 1720, when he was ppointed bishop of his native diocese of Limerick, while s successor in the same city parish was Father Peter Burke.[2] ere and there, too, are records of the deaths of many of the ish priests. Father Cornelius Leyne was buried in the church St. Nicholas on the 11 November 1709 ; in the same church hn Hagan, chaplain to the chapel of St. Julien in the Fosse,

[1] For a detailed account of the Nantes Irish College, see *Irish Colleges on the Continent* Rev. P. Boyle.

[2] In his will, made shortly before his death at Limerick in 1737, Bishop O'Keeffe queaths 200 livres to " the Miss Clarkes of Nantes."

was buried on the 26 May 1715.[1] Father John Burke, age 41 years, " of the parish of Kiltomas, diocese of Kilmacduagh,' died at the Hotel Dieu on the 18 January 1765. William Barrett, " priest of the diocese of Killala, Ireland, who wa studying at the Irish College," passed away on 10 June 177 at the same place, as did Father Thomas Sheedy MacNamar on 14 June 1779. Numerous clerical records of a simila kind mark every decade of the eighteenth century up t its end when, with the chaos of the Revolution, they ceas

Regarding the Irish laymen who settled at Nantes aft the Jacobite débâcle, many of them with their descendant played so varied a part, not only in the affairs of that cit but in the history of France, that little more than a passin notice can be given to them here. Walshes, Shiels, Clarke Stapletons, MacNamaras, O'Sullivans, Reidys, MacCurtin Galweys, FitzGeralds—such are but a few of those who com posed the Jacobite colony, in which, indeed, almost ever well-known Irish name was represented. The Walsh famil were in many ways its most notable members. The command of the ship in which the Stuart king escaped to France aft the battle of the Boyne, was James Walsh of Ballynacoo in the Walsh mountains in the county Kilkenny, " an Iri gentleman of ancient and honourable descent." James's so Philip, who had been a wealthy Waterford merchant, settl at St. Malo in 1685 where he became a prominent shipown and built several men-of-war for the French governmer It was the period of the corsairs, when St. Malo was the chi base from which French privateers swept the seas in pursu of English merchant vessels. The captors of these receiv a big proportion of the prizes, and Philip made a large fortu in this way. Settling also as shipowners at Nantes, three his sons engaged largely in the slave trade, out of whi immense profits were made. Antony, the eldest, marri the daughter of an Irish merchant living in the city.[2]

[1] In the same church and in the same year the burial took place of " Madame Jea Shiel, age 50 years, a professed nun of the Order of St. Francois de Sainte Elizabeth, v was forced to leave her convent in Ireland by reason of her attachment to the Cath faith."

[2] Their marriage is thus recorded : " Church of St. Nicholas (Nantes). Marria 10 January 1741. Antony Vincent Walsh, Counsellor of the King (son of Philip Wa

ealous Jacobite, he planned in 1745 the expedition to Scotland, which he was the heart and brain. Early in July of that ear, Prince Charles Edward and the Seven Men of Moidart, ie majority of whom were Irish, met at Nantes under various isguises. After undergoing many perils Antony Walsh, in is brig the *Doutelle*, landed the Prince on the Scottish coast. or his services an Irish earldom was conferred on him by ames the Third, while the Prince not only knighted him ut presented him with £2,000 and a gold-hilted sword.[1] ntony's brother, Francis, who engaged at Nantes and Cadiz the same trade of ship-building etc., also amassed much ealth. He purchased the estate and beautiful Renaissance ıateau at Serrant on the high road between Nantes and ngers, and in 1755 was ennobled by Louis XV as Count Valsh de Serrant.[2]

Among other Irish families who, in the earlier half of the ghteenth century, ranked with the leading citizens of Nantes ere the Clarkes, Shiels and Stapletons. As shipowners and ommercial brokers they enriched themselves particularly ıt of the contraband trade with Ireland in wool.[3] In salted eef, hides and fish from Ireland a profitable exchange with ie French colonies was carried on, too, by other Irish families the city, the Reidys, O'Riordans and Kielys. There are cords of prolonged lawsuits by the latter against the ship

d Anne White) to Marie Shiel (daughter of Luke Shiel, merchant, and Agnes Vanasse)." e signatories to the marriage were all Irish: Luke Shiel, Marie Shiel, John Stapleton ıigneur des Dervallieres), Agnes Shiel Stapleton, Thoby Clarke, Marie Clarke, Marie ordan Clarke and Anastasia Clarke.

[1] In Froude's *The Two Chiefs of Dunboy*—a fine story despite its numerous anomalies d fantasies—the original of Patrick Blake, the Irish merchant exile, is Antony Walsh Nantes.

[2] His son became Colonel-Proprietor of Walsh's Irish regiment of the Irish Brigade. daughter married in 1774 Lord Thomas Southwell, son of Baron Southwell of Castle ttress, Co. Limerick.

The present representative of the Walsh de Serrant family in France is the Duc de Tremouille, who resides at the chateau at Serrant.

[3] Many entries in the municipal registers, of which the following are examples, show ıch intermarriage among these families:—

"Church of St. Nicholas. 10 Feb. 1715. Marriage of Theobald (Thobie) Clarke (son of James Clarke and Annie Shiel) with Marie Riordan (daughter of Robert Riordan and Anastasia Creagh).

"Chapelle du Sanitat. 13 Feb. 1732. Marriage of John Stapleton, chevalier, seigneur des Dervallieres (son of the late John Stapleton and Helene Skerrett), and Miss Agnes Shiel (daughter of Luke Shiel, merchant, and Agnes Vanasse).

"15 August 1792. Burial at Notre Dame de la Fosse of Marie Clarke (daughter of Thoby Clarke Esq, merchant, and Madame Marie O'Riordan, daughter of Luke Nicholas O'Shiel), age 64 years."

captains of the Loire, who made exorbitant charges for the unloading of their vessels. In a different sphere of industry the O'Ryans carried on the trade of glovers and perfumers, the Morgans that of goldsmiths and jewellers, the McAuliffes that of manufacturing serges, and as early as 1696 Thomas Kingland (? Kinlen) was a printer and publisher in the city. And in professional careers we find FitzGeralds and MacCarthys functioning as doctors, Rices as bankers, O'Deas as official language interpreters, while filling chairs occasionally in the city's university were Irishmen like Dr. Lanigan, bishop of Ossory, who had been for some years its professor of mathematics.

By the middle of the century a certain number of the wealthier merchants, like the Walshes, Stapletons and Shiels, had purchased estates in the neighbourhood of the city. On proving their ancient Irish lineage, they were admitted by letters-patent into the ranks of the French nobility, and some of them contracted marriage alliances with old Breton aristocratic families.[1]

In 1756 much uneasiness prevailed among the Irish colony at Nantes immediately after the outbreak of war between France and England. Louis XV ordered that all Englishmen and subjects of England in his kingdom should immediately leave France. When the royal edict reached Nantes, the official responsible for its execution hesitated about applying it to the Irish residents of the city. In his difficulty he consulted with the King's lieutenant, and the latter summoned a conference of the leading Irish citizens to consider the situation. These vehemently asserted that they refused to give to England an allegiance which they owed only to France. A *mémoire* was then drawn up in which they claimed exemption from the royal order. They pointed out that Louis XIV treated the Irish exiles in France as his own subjects, and they recalled

[1] In a recent book, *L'Ere des Négriers* (1931), M. Gaston Martin states that the Irish, after flying to France from persecution, were naturalised in their new home, and were later to become "great lords in Brittany and ardent legitimists." Referring to the Walshes of Nantes, he says that they were not really admitted into the French noblesse till 1751 and 1755. "They had by then," he continues, "sold a sufficient number of negroes to enable them to regild and legalise their Irish coat-of-arms, which was a little sullied by the somewhat dubious trade in which Philip Walsh, the real founder of the dynasty, was engaged."

their services to her flag in her wars with England. The appeal for exemption, whose signatories included a certain number representing the priests and students of the Irish College, was entirely successful.

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During the Reign of Terror in 1793 and 1794 no town in France suffered more severely from its excesses than Nantes. Yet, strangely enough, it had been from the beginning of the Revolution a stronghold of the new regime, and in 1791 and the following year the local Department faithfully executed the various decrees of the National Assembly. It particularly carried out the order compelling ecclesiastics to take the oath to the Civil Constitution of the clergy. The priests of the Irish College were exempted from taking the oath, but clashes began soon to occur between it and the revolutionary authorities. Proscribed French priests were said to be sheltered within its walls, and anticlerical demonstrations by fanatical mobs took place in its vicinity. A hostile feeling was rapidly developing, and in March 1793 the affair became critical when the students and professors were placed under arrest. After a few weeks detention, however, they were placed on board an Irish ship and sent home to Ireland.

Though at this time the citizens of Nantes were strong partisans of the Revolution, the country districts of La Vendée, of which it was the capital, were strongly royalist and Catholic. In 1792, when France was threatened by a European coalition, Danton's call to arms was received with enthusiasm in the city, while it drove the countrysides around into insurrection. A civil conflict followed, in which a certain number of Irishmen were leaders on both sides. In response to the call to arms, sixteen battalions were formed within the city, among whose officers were John Reidy, a member of the municipal council, James Galwey and John O'Sullivan. O'Sullivan was a revolutionary fanatic and became notorious later as one of the desperate band that Carrier, the Pro-Consul, gathered about him during the reign of frightfulness which

he inaugurated in the city.[1] In the wholesale shootings and drownings, which he carried out, vast numbers lost their lives, and among the victims were at least two Irishwomen, Anne Stapleton and Anne O'Shiel. At this time, too, three Irish officers in the Catholic insurgent army, O'Daly, Dillon and Charles O'Sullivan, were executed at Nantes, while Abbé Mac Carthy, rector of a country parish near the city, and charged with being a 'refractory' priest, was guillotined.

Irish associations with Nantes, as with France generally, ceased after the Revolutionary era. This was due, among other causes, to a marked relaxation of the penal laws in Ireland, the foundation of the ecclesiastical college at Maynooth and the admission of Irishmen as officers into the military and naval forces of England.

RICHARD HAYES

[1] Paternally and maternally, O'Sullivan came of Irish families that had settled Nantes—the following records his grandparents' marriage: "St. Nicholas (Nant 2 July 1720. Marriage of Denis O'Sullivan, native of Ireland (son of Daniel O'Sulli and Frances Piercey) and Helen FitzGerald." A fuller account of O'Sullivan and o Irishmen of Nantes in the French Revolution will be found in my book *Ireland Irishmen in the French Revolution.*

HE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE DECLINE OF DICTATORSHIP IN ITALY

BY MAJOR JAMES S. BARNES, F.R.G.S.

THE many dictatorships that have arisen in the world since the Great War, though all due in some measure discontent with the conditions which produced such a rrible catastrophe and to discontent with the conditions ıich the Great War itself produced, vary very widely both their origins and objectives. For simplicity's sake, however, ey may be distributed into three main classes : first, those ıe to the urge to emancipate the masses from some oppressive ıss tyranny (Russia for example) ; secondly, the urge to ıancipate a whole nation from foreign oppression or the nger of foreign oppression (Turkey for example) ; thirdly, e urge to restore order out of chaotic internal conditions strife (Greece for example).

To class all these dictatorships as either " Fascism " or Communism," as is often done, is unscientific and absurd. ıe only communistic State is Russia, if we except certain pects of republican Spain and Mexico. It is true of course at the communist creed and the fascist creed have profoundly fluenced both unsuccessful and successful revolutionary ovements in other countries, since both of them have universal pects. Fascism, for example, has influenced revolutionary rmany. But Nazism and Fascism are nevertheless as far art in some respects as they are in other respects close to ch other. The origins of these two movements are also fferent. Although both were partly caused by the urge bring order out of chaos, the main urge in the case of Nazism ıs national emancipation from the oppression of the peace eaties, while the main urge behind the Italian Revolution, ıich produced Fascism, was undoubtedly the aspiration of alians to rebuild the State in accordance with their own aditions and to discard the previously fashionable forms d values copied from northern Europe and imposed upon em by the intelligentsia which, in the latter part of the neteenth century, had been instrumental in creating an dependent and united Italy. Italians also undoubtedly

felt in their hearts a stirring of destiny calling upon them t play once more a determining part in world events, and the were therefore eager to forge an instrument more capable c fulfilling this aspiration (for there is no people in the worl so imperially minded as the Italians—a fact too often forgotte but unequivocally proved by history) than parliamentar democracy.

Wherever dictatorship has arisen, it is important to not that it has arisen with the overwhelming consent of the peopl who have in every case rallied round a man whom they ha come to believe capable of satisfying their urge. All gover ment is partly dependent on force and partly on consen But the strength of these modern dictatorships all bega once they were established, with a greater measure of conse than of force. Since their initiation, on the other hand, son have had to rely more and more on force and have ev developed into forms of fearful tyranny (as that of Stali who rules in Russia now more tyrannically than the wor of the Czars), others have won a greater and greater measu of consent (as that of Mussolini).

Mussolini is far more popular in Italy to-day than he w fifteen years ago ; and Fascism, as a creed, is far more wid accepted. The reason is that Mussolini has not betrayed t original causes which set him in his place. He brought or out of chaos, he has made government an efficient instrume of social progress, he has restored to honour Italy's tradition values (Catholic and Roman), he has laid the foundations o constitution consonant with Italian political and econom traditions, he has enhanced Italian power and given It an Empire. No wonder he is still popular ; and, as a mat of fact, it is chiefly by virtue of his popularity that he c still be called Dictator. For if we to-day examine conditions Italy closely, Mussolini's dictatorship—from a juridical po of view—is rapidly declining. This is because the new insti tions of fascist Italy are at last beginning to function. T last phase in the building of the new constitution is shor to be completed. When this has been done, Mussoli dictatorship will have technically ended, though he is lik

remain the virtual Dictator of his country until the end of s days. His personal influence is likely to remain by virtue his popularity, the inspiration of his leadership and the rce of his character. Actually, however, his rule will have ased to be arbitrary. He will be bound henceforth wholly the laws and institutions which he and his advisers have eated or reformed. He will have to work through them. ıe revolutionary machine of which he is the master may some years be still held in reserve as the guardian of the eals of the Revolution ; but its presence is likely to be rgotten more and more until, with a new generation customed since birth to the new institutions, it has become sted by disuse and merely a curious museum-piece.

On April 23 next Italy's new Parliament, based mainly the fascist hierarchy on the one hand and on the trade ilds on the other—the first nominated from above, the cond thrown up by successive elections from below—will me into being. It is a very important event. It signals e technical end of dictatorship, though not of an authoritarian rm of government. These two things are not the same. ıe one, dictatorship, was the instrument of a Revolution, e necessary instrument of a transition period, to be discarded soon as the revolutionary process of fermentation was er ; the other, authority, is part and parcel of the new der, a matter of principle, undemocratic certainly in many ays but not undemocratic in some others. Indeed the new alian constitution purports to be what Aristotle would ve called a " polity "—a balance of institutions combining three classical forms of government : monarchical, istocratic and popular. But as these terms are apt to be isunderstood, let us say quite simply that it purports to mbine authoritative leadership, a responsible *élite* and pular representation through organised economic and pro- ssional interests.

This constitution is a peculiar Italian concern. It is not article for export. Moreover, it has still to pass the prag- atic test. Many years must elapse before it will be possible

to confirm what it theoretically promises. The theor however, lying behind it is extremely interesting; and the is every probability that in due time the whole world w have things to learn from it. One of its most importa features is the guild or "corporative" system as applied cycles of production. This side of it is already working wi conspicuous success, and this side of it has a special inter for Catholics; for it seeks to put into practice some of t principles laid down by Pope Pius XI in his Encyclical on t social order.

The theory at the back of the new constitution is this :—

1. *That the purpose of a constitution is the contrivance machinery calculated to promote the general interests.*

2. *That the best way to insure that the general interests secured is, in so far as this is possible, to come to decisions general consent—that is, by conciliation between organised inter and, where conciliation fails, by judicial arbitration.*

3. *That in proportion as the general interests are secu liberty is safeguarded, because for all practical purposes government liberty may be defined as the right of doing or say anything not at variance with the general interests (licence be as distinguished from liberty, the right of doing or saying anyth regardless of the general interests).*

4. *That any good constitution must be so contrived as to th up into authority the pick of the country's political brains.*

Parliamentary democracy has shown itself to be a v imperfect piece of machinery to promote these ends. F even it be granted that the will of the majority as expre by the vote represents the interests of the majority, parliam ary democracy inevitably results in sacrificing the inter of the minority, which may be forty-nine per cent of the pe and is seldom in practice less than twenty-five per c Secondly, because of the relative ignorance and lack judgment of the great majority of people (an indisput fact), it is a gross exaggeration to claim that the of the majority represents more than a very rough appr mation to the interests of the majority. Thirdly, minorities, powerful either on account of their wealth,

l or their organisation, are frequently able to carry majority with them by means of clever propaganda and ssure, to which the masses are notoriously prone—just as y are to panic and other emotional and therefore irrational nuli. Fourthly, that the type of persons thrown up into hority by liberal parliamentary systems tend towards a an of mediocrity; and the working of the parliamentary chine is too often corrupt and almost invariably cumbrous l inefficient.

The new Italian constitution is an attempt to fulfil these ditions. The lower House of Parliament (that is, the use of Representatives) is to be composed of about six ndred members, rather more than half of whom are to be representatives of the guilds or "corporations."

What exactly are these guilds? They are permanent, dically recognised bodies, mainly representative of the le unions directly interested in a particular "cycle of duction." Actually there are at present in Italy twenty-two these bodies, representative of all the more important ductive forces in the country.

One example is sufficient to illustrate what is meant by a ycle of production." There is, for example, a beet guild corporation. Let us see what are the various interests cerned in the production, sale and utilisation of beet. st, there are the people who grow it. They fall under four ds: large landed proprietors, small landed proprietors, f-share farmers, and paid agricultural labourers. Each of se classes has its own trade union, each is separately re- sented on the board of the guild. Secondly, the beet is l to two classes of manufacturer: the sugar manufacturer l the alcohol manufacturer. Each class of manufacturer its trade union, and each is represented on the board of guild. Thirdly, there are the corresponding two classes workers employed by the manufacturers. Each class of kers has its own trade union, and each is represented on board of the guild. There is also a professional trade on interest in beet, namely, the scientific expert. He also epresented by one member—the other trade unions, being

more important, having two members each. Finally, tw additional members are appointed by the Fascist Party represent the consumer.

This body, thus constituted, meets to discuss all the interes concerned, to settle all disputes, to conciliate all the interes (*e.g.* questions of wages, hours of work, acreage, prices, et and to watch over all the general interests of the indust (*e.g.* general policy, improved methods, rationalizatio insurance, technical schools, welfare organisations, labo exchanges, etc.). Under its direction it has paid officers a staff, financed by a percentage of the trade union levy.

The guild board meets periodically under the chairmansh of the Minister of Corporations, whose duty it is to bring t contending parties together and to arrive at decisions on questions by conciliation, that is, by a process of give a take or compromise. Discussions are exceedingly animat Each interest naturally fights hard for what it considers rights. In the end, however, experience has shown that o ninety per cent. of the questions discussed are solved eventua by agreement, as might be expected from a small body experts who are all deeply concerned with the success of th industry. If agreement, in the remaining percentage questions touching wages and hours of labour, pro impossible, the question is referred to a civil High Co judge accustomed to the intricacies of civil disputes ; and is assisted by assessors representative of the parties in dispu The question is then settled on the basis of the current lab laws (including the famous Labour Charter which defines a protects the rights of Labour) and on a general basis of equ after taking into consideration the cost of living, the state unemployment and the profits of the industry.

As for the trade unions which form the basis of the gui they elect their representatives in much the same way as do trade unions all over the world. The members inhabitin commune (municipality) send up their representatives to provincial capital, where they meet to elect the representat of the province. These in turn send up their representat to Rome to elect the national representatives. The nati

ıncil of each trade union nominates their representative on e guild board. Thus, in order to become a representative the board of a guild, an individual has to pass through a ies of four elections. He will not do so unless he is an remely capable person, expert and with an outlook which something a good deal more than local. Otherwise the presentatives from other localities would not have confidence him and would not vote for him. The process therefore tainly insures the throwing up of talent to the top; and se men of talent will in every sense be representative of e interests which have elected them.

Now for the parliamentary representation. All the trade ion members of the guilds will sit together in Parliament. us all the more important cycles of production and economic erests will be represented in Parliament. Bills introduced the Government will go first before committees elected by se interests with a view to their emerging therefrom as actically agreed measures through the give and take of the rious interests involved. Bills will then be discussed and ted upon by the whole house, the rest of which will be formed rtly of the representatives of cultural and professional bodies d partly of the provincial secretaries of the fascist Party, whom there are ninety-eight, sitting *ex officio*, representing e territorial divisions of the country. The central Directorate the Party and members of the Grand Fascist Council who e neither Senators nor Academicians also sit *en bloc*.

Thus every member of Parliament will be a man with a o in addition to his parliamentary job. The trades union presentation, forming the majority, will be a strictly mocratic representation. The remainder will not be, for e most part, elected. But they will certainly be highly presentative (the provincial secretaries are nominated by e secretary of the fascist Party, who is a member of the binet—and all of them, though not elected, are in daily ch with every side of the life of their constituencies).

Another important point is this. There will be no more rliamentary elections as such. Parliament will auto-atically renew itself—perpetually. Thus the new Parliament

will be able, from this point of view, to claim closer touch wi shifting public opinion than a Parliament elected for sever years at a stretch.

The Upper House—namely, the Senate—is to remain at present constituted. It is composed of men distinguish by their services to the State : members of the services, ci and military, great lawyers, professors, writers, artists, et etc. They are nominated by the King on the advice of t Prime Minister ; but, if they are not considered sufficient distinguished by the Senate itself, they can be black-ball

The Prime Minister is responsible to the King, the re of the Cabinet to the Prime Minister. Either House has t right to reject bills or to refuse supplies. If a deadlock occu between the Cabinet and either House, it is the King's busin to resolve the crisis. He can dismiss the Prime Minister a call on another man, chosen from the Grand Fascist Coun to form a new Ministry.

The Grand Fascist Council is, so to speak, the College Cardinals of the fascist State. It is the high constitutio authority. The constitution or other fundamental law can be changed, war cannot be declared without its conse It is composed for the most part of *ex officio* members : chief Cabinet Ministers, the Chief of the General Staff and the fascist Militia, the Presidents of the two Houses, Presidents of the Federations of trade unions (five represent Capital, five representing Labour and one the professio trade unions—the five in each case being grouped under following classes : finance, industry, commerce, agriculture communications), and the President of the Royal Acade The remaining members are a few persons nominated by Council itself for three years, but re-eligible (ex-Cab Ministers of distinction and ex-secretaries of the fascist Pa and the four surviving leaders of the revolutionary Ma on Rome (Mussolini himself and three others of the orig Quadrumvirate).

It would, of course, be easy to criticize aspects of constitution. But nobody would be so bold as to deny its organs are representative of all the live forces in the cou

that it is likely to throw up into authority the pick of the litical brains. The corporative organisation seems to fit e technical requirements of this century. It makes a fine lder, besides, for talent of all kinds, however lowly in origin nd in this limited sense, at any rate, is extremely democratic) rise to the top of the tree. Moreover, it is partially democra- also in so far as all the chief interests are represented by ction. It is neither too rigid nor too flexible, while its sentially hierarchical features makes both for leadership d the preservation of order. There is no reason to entertain ave doubts of its ability to promote the general interests.

One objection can be urged against it, as it can be urged ainst parliamentary democracy. The true general interests a country are not merely the general material interests; d there is no guarantee that the general interests, any ore than with parliamentary democracy, will be interpreted hically, as they should be.

As far as Italy is concerned, however, this point can be swered. There is the Concordat with the Vatican. It is excellent Concordat and, when all is said and done, is being ithfully observed. This means that the fundamental require- ents of the Church are being respected : the religious teaching the young is assured, Catholic Action is free to work, the inisters of religion are free to perform their spiritual duties, e Catholic character of the State is preserved, etc. The oncordat, moreover, is one of the fundamental laws of the ate and, as long as it remains so, the majority of Italians ill continue to be imbued by a Catholic spirit and receive Catholic upbringing. The Concordat, therefore, remains the y to the situation.

Some people may dislike this new Italian constitution. No ubt it has its defects, as all human institutions have. But erits it certainly possesses ; and as long as the Concordat is ithfully observed, Catholics all the world over need have serious anxieties with respect to its working. They can ford to watch its development with benevolent, if not cessarily with sympathetic, interest.

J. S. Barnes

W. B. YEATS, JOHN O'LEARY AND THE CONTEMPORARY CLUB

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

It is a far cry from the stark simplicities of 1939 in Eire to the *fin siècle* complexities of forty years ago, when those of us who were th young students became conscious of W. B. Yeats and his " mission I do not think it occurred to many of us either to reject or accept t new phenomenon. We just succumbed to the wizardry of a voice whi was as the wind among the reeds in solitary places or as the rich shado over quiet waters where hill and cloud are reflected. The problem Irish as a conscious literary medium had, despite Douglas Hyde a An t-Athair Peadar, hardly presented itself then. The Gaelic Leag was only beginning its activities. What, in the list of Intermedi school subjects, used to be designated " Celtic " sounded remote a erudite—curiously unconnected in our minds with the Irish blás t echoed in our ears. Celtic was to become Gaedhealg and to be wid taught. But that was not quite yet. I remember the numbers atte ing Irish evening classes given to us by Pearse in 1899 in the Ga League rooms in Upper O'Connell Street. They could be counted the fingers of one hand. The breach had been made, but the garri had hardly surrendered. The issue against the *Countess Cathl* which I saw played in the Ancient Concert Rooms in 1899, was rat ethical-ecclesiastical than national, though it may not have been to disentangle the two. I remember asking myself at the time wh was not shocked. I might have replied that my teeth had been on Goethe's *Faust*, the poetic significance of which is a joy even to most orthodox.

That Yeats's ambition from the beginning was to be a natio poet is evident to all who know the story of his life and writings. T the European world regarded him as the representative literary fig of Ireland was manifest during his life and is manifest after his de in the obituary notices abroad. He always felt himself an Irish and suffered a nostalgia as sincere as that of any other exile w circumstances compelled him to leave Ireland. Sligo and Hov Galway and the woods of Coole were home in a sense in which Lon and Paris never could be. The " Irish Literary Society " which founded in London in the early nineties was but a prelude to " National Literary Society " which he set up here a couple of y later. It is significant for Yeats's nationalism that his choice of

esident was John O'Leary,[1] the Fenian to whom he alludes in his *veries* in such terms as to suggest that he was the arbiter of his poetic stiny. The coincidence, in the membership of the Society, of such her names as those of Douglas Hyde, of the present President of iiversity College, Dublin, of Count Plunkett and J. McCall as well above all, of the late Dr. Sigerson and of D. J. O'Donoghue is proof Yeats's directives.

It was not at the Literary Society but at the Contemporary Club at I first had the thrill of meeting Yeats and of hearing him talk what was an intimate circle. I was not a member of the Club—my x debarred me—but the " exclusive " males were good enough to mit us to a symposium every fourth Saturday and I, for one, went adly. The Contemporary Club still exists, happily, under the Chairanship of Senator Dr. Rowlette. It celebrated its fiftieth birthday 1935, and I owe it to Dr. Rowlette's kindness that I can give an curate account of its history. Its founder, the late Professor Oldham University College, Dublin, was usually my host. He figures promintly in Madame Gonne MacBride's recent book, *A Servant of the ueen*, and is also mentioned in the Yeats Autobiographies as well by H. W. Nevinson in connection with the Club—the life and soul which he remained almost to his end.

C. H. Oldham, who had a brilliant career as " scholar " student Trinity, had formed the habit of inviting a group of graduates and idergraduates interested in literature and politics to informal dissions over tea and a pipe in his rooms in College on Saturday evengs. He was then a " grinder." When, in consequence of certain olitical activities (he was a Protestant Home Ruler), his rooms had to transferred to 116 Grafton Street—over what is now The American xpress—the group formed itself into a Club, choosing the term Conmporary to indicate the line of interest and refraining from qualifying otherwise, so that it should be open to all shades of opinion. Public tion of any kind was forbidden. The object of the Club was to afford portunities for the interchange of opinion upon the social, political id literary questions of the day. The number of members was limited fifty, which was afterwards increased to seventy-five. Prominent nong the original members were John O'Leary and Michael Davitt. hey had been introduced by a Mr. James Walker of whom I retain vivid impression, though when I met him at the Club nearly twenty ars after its foundation, he was an old man. He was Presbyterian id Parnellite—the printer of the Dublin University Review, for the suing of which Oldham's Saturday Night group in Trinity was mainly sponsible, and in which Yeats's first published poems appeared.

[1] Dr. Douglas Hyde, in an obituary article on Dr. Sigerson in Studies 1925, states at he himself was the first President of the I.N.L.S.

Mr. Walker was a man of wide reading, a forceful speaker with individu views and a fine social conscience. Dr. Rowlette recalls that he ar Oldham toured Ulster in '85 and '86 to gain recruits for their grou of Protestant Home Rulers!

Other notable names among the original members were the la Dr. Sigerson, Dr. Douglas Hyde, W. F. Stockley (later Professor English Literature in Queen's and University College, Cork) and Jo F. Taylor Q.C. Taylor was barrister, journalist and student of histor An ardent lover of his country, he wrote in 1896, for the New Iri Library Series edited by Sir C. Gavan-Duffy, a life of Owen Roe O'Ne " the most illustrious man of action that Ireland has produced." T link with a great military leader is in the spirit of John O'Leary who follower Taylor was. It is perhaps interesting that twenty-six yea after the publication of this volume, under the first Government Saorstát Eireann, Taylor's *Owen Roe O'Neill* became one of the p scribed books for Primary Training College Courses in History. T students had considerable difficulty in running it to earth—it was lo since out of print! Taylor plays a rôle in the autobiographi memories of Yeats, H. W. Nevinson and Madame Gonne MacBri At Maud Gonne's request he often defended Irish prisoners in Lond He was a member of the Inner Bar in both countries.

Whether Yeats was actually a *member* of the Contemporary C is disputed. If he was, it was probably for the brief period betw 1885 and his departure for London in 1887. He was at that time student in the School of Art and not yet the poet whose genius, Professor Stockley says, " our dullness could not measure." He t us himself that he frequented the Club as a means of acquiring s possession. It was to train him to " play with hostile minds." " Ha argument," he says in *Reveries* (1915), " was the manner of our c versation." Nobody certainly was better fitted to give him that tra ing than Oldham or Taylor, neither of whom was a respecter of perso Oldham constantly gave offence in debate when he least intended At heart the kindest of men, he was himself invulnerable to wo attack and must have assumed that others had bathed in the drago blood also. Yeats believed that Taylor was jealous of John O'Lear affection for him. Both, with Rolleston, were the chief disciples of old Fenian, who prized quality above quantity. O'Leary held stri aloof from party politics and political agitation, confining his attenti to the Young Ireland Societies which he established and at the meeti of which Yeats and Taylor were his attendant spirits. O'Lea conviction of Yeats's genius was openly proclaimed by him to his fell members. One of these, writing on the occasion of the Jubilee of Club, recalls how O'Leary said: " Young Yeats is the only perso this room who will ever be reckoned a genius." The same mem

)w a Canon of the Church of England, wrote in 1935 with deep respect
:d affection of John O'Leary—who, he said, was " interesting all
:e time and whose knowledge of men and books was amazingly wide."

Others who frequented the Club, though they do not all seem to
.ve been members, were Dr. Bob Kenny, the Parnellite, T. W. Russell
rst as Unionist, then as Minister in the Liberal Government), A.E.,
ieehy-Skeffington and Padraic Colum. On Ladies' Night I remember
:ll Miss Sara Purser, whose wit was the salt to our meat ; Ella Young,
fascinating speaker with a beautiful voice, who wrote verses in the
anner of A.E.—she was one of his " mystic school " ; Alice Oldham,
quiet effective speaker, deeply intellectual—she was Lecturer in
ental and Moral Science at Alexandra College. The most romantic
)man of the age I never met at the Club : Maud Gonne was out of
eland when my acquaintance with the Contemporary began in
03. But her miniature hung on the wall, and I heard much of the
ell which her beauty and her personality had woven round the work
.d the life of Yeats. The part of the Countess Cathleen had been
:itten for her ; she had " with weird power " played the title rôle
Cathleen ni Houlihan at its première in 1902, whilst a sonnet—of
iakespeare perhaps and of Ronsard—reforged in Celtic fires, fused
e Dark Lady and Helène so that they suffered rich transformation
a Yeats lyric.

The Club premises in Lincoln Chambers contain some relics of
ose early years. The most interesting are a group of pencil sketches
members and visitors done on the spot by J. B. Yeats, father of the
)et, and a portrait by him in oils of John O'Leary. I never saw J. B.
the Club, but Dr. Rowlette tells of his visits and of the excellence
his talk on art, literature and philosophy. It was more often his
ibit to sit silent, sketching busily—O'Leary, A.E. or a visitor such as
'illiam Morris, whose ideas played no small part in the poet Yeats's
sion of an Irish cultural democracy.

I should not need pencil or brush to revive my memories of either
)hn O'Leary or W. B. Yeats. O'Leary had even then—he was seventy-
iree—a strikingly handsome face—the handsomest, Yeats tells us,
e ever saw. Dora Sigerson Shorter, in whose father's house John
'Leary dined every Sunday, sculpted that head and face years after-
iards and set it on the body of Father Time for her garden in Missenden.
1 1903 the long white beard had grown matted, and the deep set eyes
ily rarely shot a gleam when his attention was fiercely aroused. I
:member watching for his intervention in a discussion and contrasting
ie strong resonances of his voice with the frailness of his person. I
:member that trait of proud uncomplainingness which so recom-
iended him to Yeats. He refused to bring his prison sufferings into
ie market-place, accepting as a matter of course and without parade

of stoicism the harshness of the victor as but the due of the vanquished. This heroic attitude—the very reverse of the political agitator—seemed to Yeats at once relic and proof of an ancient military civilisation. It coupled with a Latin heritage coming through the Catholic Church was part of the foundation on which he hoped to build his Irish Renaissance. Praise of that attitude became almost a formula in his lyrics. Association of it with an isolated old man—"Romantic Ireland's dead and gone, 'Tis with O'Leary in the grave"—closed his eyes to the significance of Pearse till 1916 leaped upon him—unawares.

The personal links between O'Leary and Yeats must have been close in the nineties when Yeats returned to Dublin for a while. They were probably drawn still closer by Maud Gonne, whom O'Leary had introduced to the Yeats family in London. Yeats shared O'Leary's rooms in Dublin for a time after the death of Miss Ellen O'Leary in 1889, and he seems to have been in touch with the composition of the book *Reminiscences of Fenians and Fenianism*, which he reviewed in the February number of the *Bookman* in 1897. O'Leary had helped him to get subscribers for the publication (by subscription) in 1889 of *The Wanderings of Oisin*, and O'Leary's Young Ireland Society were one of the obvious means at Yeats's hand for the dissemination of his national-cultural ideas among the young men of the day. The old Fenian was, in the words of Pearse, scholarly and chivalrous. His fifteen years of exile, mostly spent in France, gave him a stamp that few others—the late Dr. Sigerson was one—had got. He was also a man of books—yet not bookish. He, an Irishman whose Catholicism was at that time rather cultural than practical, lover of the great French Cathedrals, sometime room-mate of Swinburne and Whistler, was a magnet to draw a young Protestant Romantic like Yeats who Protestantism set up barriers between him and the Irish tradition and who was yet suspicious of clericalism or indeed of piety because he believed them suspicious of him. Madame MacBride says that Yeats was, with herself, for a brief period member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. This should not be a matter of surprise. It was O'Leary's organisation. He was a member of the Supreme Council.

I imagine that, in the years when I was regularly present at Lady Night in the Club—between 1903 and 1908—the relations between Yeats and O'Leary were no longer so very close. Yeats did not attend O'Leary's funeral on the 18th March, 1907, nor is there any commemoration of him in the poems until "September 1913." "I shrank," he says, "from seeing about his grave so many whose Nationalism was different from anything he had taught or that I could share." This apology for an absence that troubled the poet—how should it not have done so?—reveals perhaps a trait in his character which has been often stressed—perhaps overstressed: I mean his aloofness. My

en who came into contact with him, either through the theatre or herwise—even those who might be expected to have cordial relations th him—emphasise this strangeness, this deliberate abstraction of nself from the everyday world of men and women. The adjectives ovely and distinguished" which he applied to what he believed ould be the art of Ireland might with fairness be applied to himself. ıny believed his aloofness to be a kind of *décor*—a stagesetting for e poet when he had to descend into the arena. I do not quite think at. The ceremonial stiffness of a greater than Yeats—Goethe—was overbial in the Germany of his day. Yet he moved the Austrian illparzer to tears by the warmth and human kindness of his reception him at Weimar. It is the riddle of the mask and the man. Poetry a sublimation. We cannot expect the poet to be other than his oduct.

In 1903, when I first saw and heard Yeats, his reputation was eady established. His appearance was striking. The plentiful ıck hair one thick strand of which fell over his forehead, the deep rk eyes, the narrow face with the full mouth, the long slender figure th the slightly forward stoop of the shoulders—all were impressive. ıere had been a general discussion—so far as I remember on the eatre. Yeats had come late and sat absolutely still in his chair. ıly towards midnight and when called upon by Mr. Oldham, did he gin to speak. His voice was rich and low—with a kind of deliberate dence in it. He did not speak quickly, but neither had one the pression of anything long drawn out. There was a core of authority, of one who had probed the matter or was certain of his vision. He ıs not dogmatic. I do not remember that anyone argued with him—ough many questioned. I have rather the recollection of a mono-gue, unpunctuated by any call to order of Charles Hubert Oldham. ven then it was borne in upon me fully how rich that monologue was matter, how full of allusiveness the style, and how fascinating the ll of the phrase. Yeats's prose had the stuff of poetry without being at monstrous thing, poetic prose. He had then—what he showed cer—a wide range of ideas on any subject he selected for discourse. ıs was a mind that was watered by many streams—European as well English—and Irish in so far as he had access to such.

John O'Leary lies with Sigerson in Glasnevin, Yeats in Roquebrune. ıe Contemporary Club goes on. It is not likely to see for sometime ain such representatives of the Irish Catholic-Latin and national ıdition as the two who occupied seats on either side of its fireplace—:orge Sigerson and John O'Leary. Neither may it easily number ıong its frequenters anyone of such supreme artistry in the field he d marked out for himself as that rich heir of a Protestant Plantation, e Anglo-Irish Yeats. It is no part of the object of this chronicle to

assess values. I may, however, dwell a little on the question of the fiel that Yeats chose. That it is limited has been pointed out by other That its limitations affect the poet's position in the Ireland of th future is plain. When he, in an inevitable reaction against his " Celt Twilight " mythology, cast off what I might call his herald's coat, do not think he walked naked for long. Enterprise was not, despi his gallant defence of the Abbey Theatre, one of Yeats's outstandin qualities. In my opinion he wove himself another garment—one several, others may say. The one I mean is of the eighteenth centu variety, dressed in which he appeared in the line of succession fro Swift, Berkeley, Goldsmith, Burke, Grattan through Lever and Lov to Augusta Gregory, Hugh Lane and Synge. This second phase m have been a reaction from a sense of frustration. It may have been way of escape out of an impasse. It may have been merely " the mett of the pasture." It was, doubtless, much influenced by the happenin of 1918 and after. However that may be, it was a narrowing of visi a renunciation—and, so far as Ireland was concerned, a defeat. H return from Roquebrune—not to lie beside Swift in St. Patrick's, b under the shadow of Ben Bulben—need not alter anything I have sa In death as in life he was fastidious.

MARY M. MACKEN

REVIEWS

Archaeology

NGLO-SAXON ART TO A.D. 900. By T. D. Kendrick. London: Methuen. 1938. Pp. 227; with 104 Plates. 25s. net.

OUGH this is a history of Anglo-Saxon art, its interest to Irish readers immense. For the story told by the author goes back to a period g anterior to the conquest of Britain by Teutonic tribes. It begins, a chapter entitled "Early British Art," with a summary account of Tène art in Britain. This style, as is well known, was developed the Celts. Its first appearance, in the fourth century B.C., is among Celtic peoples of eastern France and the middle Rhineland, and it lowed in the wake of its originators along the Danube to eastern rope and across the northern seas to Great Britain and Ireland. is found in our own country in the third or second centuries B.C., l the impression made by it was such that it gives to our early ristian art its characteristic quality. What Mr. Kendrick has to say La Tène art in Britain may thus be applied *mutatus mutandis* to the ne art in Ireland.

In consequence of the Roman Conquest the La Tène style came to end in Britain. But among the semi-independent Brigantes in rthern England there was a school that kept alive something of the Celtic artistic spirit to the end of the second century. Thereafter foreign art of the Roman world-empire everywhere imposed itself. stead of the La Tène style with its sweep of flowing lines and long elling curves, "its brilliant vigour, its urgent, eccentric vitality, its rd, intense abstraction, its Celtic unfriendliness," there came classical ms, figures of men and beasts faithfully reproduced "in a friendly od," and rising easily in architecture to the monumental. Yet even w the inherited Celtic genius of the Britons was not entirely curbed. n addition to those numerous pieces of indifferent copy work that re dutifully produced by the native artists there are also rare and cious sculptures that represent the art of stone-carving under the cipline of a purely barbaric and un-Roman aesthetic sensibility, e and uncompromising abstract conceptions that have not yet eived the attention they deserve."

With the collapse of Roman rule and the growing power of the rude aders, Angles, Saxons and the rest, Romano-British art disappeared. e era of towns, villas, baths, amphitheatres, statues, paintings gave y to an age of mud huts and rough wooden halls. Among the itons, as is clear from Gildas, an effort was made to preserve the nitely higher Roman civilization, but in the hard struggle for bare stence only a limited success could be achieved. When St. Augus- e arrived in Canterbury he found Kentish art "a mere degradation the pagan animal pattern into a meaningless and tightly-knit jumble interlacing lines used recklessly as a complete surface covering."

North of the Thames, too, a comparable style had appeared at abo the same time.

Meanwhile the Church in Ireland had become the chief represe tative of Celtic Christianity. St. Columcille began his great work Iona in 563. From that seagirt settlement another island monaste was founded at Lindisfarne in 635. From that moment the conversi of the Angles of Northumbria might be said seriously to begin. M Kendrick contends that it was just at this period, and from a Columb foundation in Ireland, that the earliest surviving example of the n art of manuscript illumination was given to the world. This is t Book of Durrow, which he takes to date from about 650. The ch argument adduced is the type of ornament; and the conclusion confirmed by the treatment of the *Christi* monogram, which expa in a grand crescendo of emphasis to a climax in the Book of K (c. 800). Between the two, but nearer in date to Durrow than Kells, comes the Book of Lindisfarne (c. 700).

That the last-mentioned masterpiece of illuminative art was p duced by the Angles of Northumbria Mr. Kendrick does not appea doubt. In such important recent works as Mr. Baldwin Brown's *in Early England* (Vol. V, Chapters XV, XVI) and Hodgkin's *Hist of the Anglo-Saxons* (Vol. I, 358) hesitation on the point is freely pressed. It seems strange, then, that Mr. Kendrick does not pay the theory of Irish origin even the compliment of a passing ment If the credit is not ours, we should not seek to claim it; but if I artists did produce the Book, it is in the interests of historical tr that the fact should be recognized. The Irish case has been cogently and courteously by Professor Macalister in *Essays and Stu presented to Sir William Ridgeway*, Pp. 299-305, and has never satisfactorily answered. It is not, of course, our wish to make of review a battleground, but it may be pointed out that those champion the Irish origin of the Book will find in Mr. Kendrick's pages no small amount of support for their contention. Valu indeed as are his observations, we cannot agree that his conclus provide a solution to this conundrum.

In his study of the early Northumbrian crosses Mr. Kendrick found it " an excessively embarrassing fact that the principal prob of chronology and stylistic development are not likely to be so before a complete survey of the material has been accomplish This difficulty is likely soon to disappear, since the desired surv actually being carried out by the Department of British Antiqu of the British Museum. Northumbrian sculpture shows a very obv admixture of styles, and it would be pleasant to find the Irish co bution, which was considerable, definitely established.

Special attention must be directed to the plates, one hundred

in number, which form an appendix to the book. Many of them multiple, so that the total of illustrations is two hundred and teen. There are, in addition, twenty-five figures scattered through text. Seldom has a work of the kind been so abundantly enriched first-class drawings and photographs. J. R.

Biography

NIN. By Christopher Hollis. London: Longmans. 1938. 10s. 6d.

OTHER volume from the indefatigable pen of Mr. Hollis in his usual active style—this time a study of Lenin, a study marked by calm-, judgement, balance, and full of many points of interest. Some indeed object that a disproportionate amount of space is given he period prior to 1917 and not enough to the opening years of the shevik state. But one of the interesting questions raised by this graphy is whether such a treatment cannot claim more historic ification than its opposite. It is Lenin the professional revolu-ary, the obstinate propagandist and theorist of a revolutionary trine and a revolutionary practice, that probably should deserve st attention.

The reader of this Life and indeed the student who refuses blindly accept, independent of the evidence to be brought forward in its our, a view because it is in general circulation may well hold that the e has come to ask the question wherein does the greatness of Lenin sist, on what is his immense reputation based? No one with any wledge of philosophy would seriously consider his claims to be rded even as a third-rate philosopher. His intellectural limitations his respect are but too obvious to any serious student of his works. Hollis is justified in giving little attention to this aspect of Lenin's vities. The only thing that might repay study is the making of claim by his followers. It is interesting to note that the two great lern ideologies that would bring two great peoples into spiritual jection should be so devoid of philosophic foundation.

If not a philosopher, is Lenin a constructive statesman then? it is still too early to disentangle the history and reputations of years between the Seizure of Power, November 1917, and Lenin's th. The dust-cover in referring to this period is responsible for the ement: "Much of the authority that was nominally exercised by in was in reality exercised by Trotsky who, himself but a recent erent of the Party, was content to do through Lenin things that he ld never have been allowed to do for himself." Unfortunately view is hardly more than repeated in the text and is not there ciently documented. Much may, however, be urged in its favour. his view be accepted, even as a reasonable approach to the truth, far was Lenin during these years what he suddenly became after

death, a leading symbol rather than a commanding constructi leader? Is one of his greatest services to Bolshevism his lying in t great mausoleum in the Red Square in Moscow? That legend so gathered round his name—perhaps in itself an indication of greatness is undoubted; that it was deliberately fostered is even clearer st Having deprived the people of God, the Party organisers found useful, even necessary, to create for it a demi-god. Another gr European people presents us with a similar phenonomen.

Some may claim that Lenin's greatness consisted in his gifts as organiser. But readers of his letters, as of this biography, must co to the conclusion that during the years of his greatest mental vigou during his exile—he was more a pedantic disruptionist than organiser. It may be possible that he underwent a great change wh he became master of Russia—or was it that a decline of mental ene had already set in? How was it that a man of narrow ideas, who at the same time a poor judge of human nature, came to be at l the symbol if not the leader of the greatest revolution of modern tim

These are among the questions that Mr. Hollis poses to us in a st that has managed to shake itself free from many unfounded accepted assumptions. Perhaps the time has not yet come to ans the question, how far during the years of exile, how far even betw the February and October revolutions did Lenin contribute in a posi way to bring his ideas and his party to victory. Was the princ service to be found in this, that he and the party were ready to s power when the revolution had reached the point which made seizure possible by men who stood for the Leninist programme. Hollis regards the keeping of power, however, as a much greater So, indeed, it was. But the question—what was Lenin's exact s in this—remains unanswered. He had two great slogans that he him to win and keep support: Peace at any Price and the For Confiscation of the Land by the needy peasants. Did it require g political insight to see the value of such a programme? Would slogans not appeal to any determined politician who was unrestra by inhibitions of any kind? Our author relies perhaps relatively much on Lenin's letters and does not make sufficient use of his lished works and speeches. But we have here a valuable contribu to the Lenin problem and suggestions as to where we must look solution.

J. M. O

CUTHBERT TUNSTAL. By Charles Sturge. London: Longr 1938. 21s.

Dr. Sturge is a student of the University of London, and his on Tunstal bears all the marks of that University's historical sc Careful, sober in judgment, fully documented from a wide ran

ted and manuscript material, it is likely to remain for many a long
the standard life of a great English churchman, who was also in
day counted a great stateman and a great scholar. Tunstal's
larship seems old-fashioned to us nowadays, and his statesmanship,
:h was mainly shown in his work for the King on the Northern
ler, is a thing of the past. But Dr. Sturge has collected an im-
sive mass of material to illustrate the success of his long adminis-
ion as the leading figure in the Council of the North—the only man
Ingland, so it seemed at one moment, who could hold the North
:he King. And the early chapters of this book bring us back to the
s when Tunstal ranked with Colet, Linacre and More as one of the
t brilliant humanists in the first generation of English humanism.
It is, of course, for his record as a churchman that Tunstal's career
commands general interest. No other prelate of the Catholic
rch in England was so completely the Henrician bishop—cautious,
servative, full of that sound scholarship and instinct for tradition
:h was a mark of pre-Reformation England—but wholly subject
he King's will, in matters of conscience as in all else. His failure
tand with Fisher and More was a sore blow to Catholic tradition
Ingland, and Tunstal lived to regret what he had done. The long
's when he found refuge in his work at Durham from the cares and
ieties caused by the rising tide of ecclesiastical revolt left their
k upon the man. To the Protestants of London he was the very
: of a subtle ecclesiastical plotter and diplomatist, weaving plans
snares that were too deeply laid for his more impetuous adversaries.
to himself he must have been a saddened, disappointed and broken
.. Dr. Sturge publishes two very striking protraits of Cuthbert
stal: one by an unknown artist, painted when Tunstal was a young
with the promise of a great career before him; the other, now at
itworth Manor, which is attributed to Hans Asper and which is
mazingly powerful study of a careworn, anxious, prayerful and
ious cleric. And it was that later Tunstal who found his soul
ng the revival of Catholicism in Mary's reign, and who resisted the
dishments of Elizabeth and the subtle flattery of Matthew Parker
ie last few months of his imprisonment. He had failed once in his
, and he knew it. He was not to fail a second time, and the Catholics
ngland forgave him his first failure for the courage which he showed
ie end of his days.

Dr. Sturge tells the long story in full detail, with little or no striving
dramatic effect or for the discovery of psychological motives. A
: "modern" biographer would have been tempted, for example,
ress the impressions which the young Tunstal may have received
young boy, who knew the meaning of sudden rise and sudden fall.
Cuthbert Tunstal was of illegitimate birth and began life, so it

seems, as a servant-boy in his great-grandfather's kitchen. But boy's position was regularised by his mother's subsequent marria and from that day the young boy got the best schooling that Tu England could give him. Was the grown man's slowness to risk for an ideal due, partly at least, to the memory of the days when was nothing, and less than nothing, in the eyes of the world? Th and other problems are not discussed by Dr. Sturge. But we may be grateful to him for the fulness of his erudition and the impar balance of his judgment.

One last pleasant touch needs to be recorded. Dr. Sturge begun this biography under the direction of Professors Pollard J. E. Neale. A Catholic priest, Father Edward Quinn, had spent m time and labour on research into Tunstal's life. Hearing that a you man was engaged on the task, he most generously placed all his mat at Dr. Sturge's disposal; and the debt is duly recorded in the pre to this book. A.

Celtica

THE SONGS OF JOHN MACCODRUM, Bard to Sir J MacDonald of Sleat. Edited by William Matheson. (S Gael. Texts, vol. II). Published for the Scottish Gaelic T Society by Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh. 1938. li + 382 pp.

IRISH poetry, says Mr. H. I. Bell in a recent excellent study of *Development of Welsh Poetry*, "runs on lines parallel to those of We and a little later in the same study (p. 8) he mentions as characte of Welsh poetry "the instant capacity to bring human moods relation with those of nature." To illustrate his meaning he ci Welsh seventeenth-century harp-stanza, which he translates as fol

The sun will rise when morning is here,
the mist will rise from off the meadows,
the dew will rise from the clover;
woe's me, when will my heart arise?

Raftery's heart rising "as the wind rises or mist scatters," wh thinks of Mayo, is an Irish nineteenth-century parallel to the th underlying those Welsh verses; and many a stray line from the of Scottish Gaelic poets might be cited to prove how widely sprea firmly rooted is this Western Celtic trait.

Mar a sgaoileas an ceò
thar aodann an fheoir,
mar a chaoch'leas na neoil 's na speuraibh,

sings the eighteenth-century Uist poet, John MacCodrum, of the of old age—"As the mist spreads over the face of the grass, clouds change in the sky, so is old age coming upon us, mo

ing, full of grief." Does not Mr. Matheson's literal translation ve, without the need of going to the Gaelic original, that MacCodrum es with the poets of Ireland that " instant capacity to bring human ds into relation with those of nature " of which Mr. Bell has spoken ? That capacity, however, is only one of many traits common to n MacCodrum and the poets of the Irish Gaeltacht ; for he belongs he civilization to which they belong, and he was reared in surndings similar to theirs. Readers familiar with that civilization, with the poetry which was an essential element of it, will not ch in his songs for the " poetic thoughts," " nature-descriptions," " battle-scenes," which a recent writer has with regret discovered e comparatively rare in Irish poetry. Rather they will look in n for the strange beauty which the Gaelic poetry of Ireland and tland truly possesses, the natural but at the same time intricately stic heightening into poetry of Gaelic fireside conversation, with fun and laughter, its wit and pungency, its vigour and rhetoric, love and bitterness, its sorrow and joy :

Mo mhìle beannachd ort, Iain Ghrùdair,
dhùisg thu mi le t'uirigleadh ;
b'aisling caillich mar a dùrachd
tha mi 'n dùil a chunna tu—[1]

e the crone of the Irish proverb who dreamt that what she wished true, Iain Grùdair had fondly imagined that the song with ch he had roused MacCodrum was a good song. MacCodrum not leave him long in doubt. He first reduced the inferior bard ilence in three pungent stanzas, of which the lines just quoted are ical by reason of their ease, their homeliness, their literary flavour elaborate Celtic artistry. He then added ten stirring stanzas in same metre to show how a Gaelic praise-poem should indeed be le. In them he told how, out of love for their Hebridean kinsman, men of Scotland " and many from Ireland " would stand beside Lord of Clanranald in the hour of need :

'S leat air thùs do chinneadh féin
gu làidir euchdach urramach,
dol 'n an éideadh bhualadh spéicean ;
's cruaidh am beum 's gur guineach e ;
's an iomairt lann chan 'eil iad fann—
gur lìonmhor geall a bhuinnig iad,
ri siabadh cheann bhàrr chorp nan Gall,
is tart an geall air fuil orra (2438–45[2]).

" My thousand blessings on thee, Brewer John, thou didst wake me with thy rigle ; 'twas a crone's dream according to her wish I ween thou sawest (2398–41)."

[2] " With thee is thine own clan first of all, strong and doughty and honoured, donning garb to strike blows ; hard is their stroke and venomous ; in the plying of blades are not faint—many a gage have they won, sweeping heads from the bodies of the ns, and thirst in quest of blood on them."

Just as MacCodrum in that single poem turns from pungent Gae fireside wit to the warrior spirit that carried the Young Prince's Hig landers to victory at Prestonpans and Falkirk, so is this whole book book of many moods, ranging from joyous satire on the wife w would neither spin the poet's flax nor wash his shirt,

'S éiginn domh 'n t-anart
a cheannach gu léine
a dh'aindeoin no dh'éiginn,
ged tha mo bhean beò ;
's éiginn domh rithist
dol an iochd na cloinn nighean
ag iarraidh a nighe,
ged tha mo bhean beò ; [1]

to slow wailful lines which tell how MacDonalds in the grave 'h left nails in the heart which no leech but death may heal' :

Dh'fhàg iad tàirnean 'n ar cridhe
chaoidh cha slànaich aon lighich ach bàs (1222).

For MacCodrum's patrons died before the poet himself, and he li to see the emigration (in the early seventies) of the larger island tena among them Flora MacDonald and her husband, in whose honou had once written a song (p. 142). Following that voluntary emigra of the lesser gentry came " the forced emigration of poorer classe the community . . . for," as Mr. Matheson points out (pp. 314 –5), " old tenants were replaced by strangers whose chief consideration how to put their farms to the most profitable use and how to v them most economically ; the old patriarchal system, abolishe theory by act of Parliament in 1747, now came to an end in ac practice." In more than one poem MacCodrum contrasts the h ways of the new unsympathetic sub-landlords with the pleasant and protective function of the old gentry (pp. 54, 88, 198–200).

In the preceding paragraph a few lines have been quoted from of the notes on eighteenth-century Hebridean life with which William Matheson has illustrated his carefully-prepared editio MacCodrum's poems. Those few lines may serve to give some of the rich mass of well-presented information to be found both i Introduction and Notes. Into them Mr. Matheson has packed ext from state documents, from eighteenth-century memoirs, from Gaelic literatures of Ireland and Scotland, and above all from Hebr oral tradition. Among the Hebridean items are weird seal-song fragments of tales concerning the descent of the MacCodrum f

[1] " I must needs buy linen for a shirt, unwillingly or perforce, though my wife is I must needs after that throw myself upon the pity of the lasses, asking that it be w though my wife is alive (1311–8)."

n a seal-woman in human shape, whose cloak the MacCodrum estor had stolen while she bathed. Irish folklorists will be reminded imilar Irish stories concerning western families said to be descended n seals or mermaids.

To his literal translation and excellent notes the editor has appended important section on the Airs and Metres of the Songs; for all Codrum's verses were made to be sung. Of the airs the majority e been gathered by the editor himself from oral tradition. By ing a Glossary of twenty-five pages, in which frequent reference is le to Old, Middle, and Modern Irish, the editor's brother, Mr. Angus heson, has completed a volume which, as an edition of the extant ks of an eighteenth-century Gaelic poet, could hardly have been er better planned or better executed. To Messrs. Oliver and Boyd to the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society a special word of praise is due the tasteful manner in which the volume has been produced.

G. M.

OGHLUIM DÁNA. Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith, S.J., do chuir i n-eagar. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair. 646 ll. 1938. 7s.

e criticism is often made that, while pupils in our schools are learning speak Irish with a certain fluency, the quality of the Irish is very r. Most teachers will agree that it is difficult to get any degree of uracy with regards to cases, genders and, especially, aspiration l eclipsis. The causes of this lamentable inexactitude are many. e first and most important is that, in their zeal to get the young dren to speak Irish, teachers often concentrate on fluency and do bother, "for the present," about the accuracy of what is spoken. s attitude is summed up in the words of a well-known Gaelic League neer: "I'd rather hear them speaking bad Irish than no Irish at "

A second and equally harmful cause is the tyranny of the dialects. en you have three (at least) sets of vociferous advocates cham- ning each its own particular brand as being "pure" Irish, and luding all other variations as debased and "anglicised," the result st be that *anything* that is said in Irish will find a defender some- ere who heard such a phrase in his Gaeltacht. The pupils learn a of grammar only to see it violated in the next Irish book they take They go to the Gaeltacht, filled with the idea that here alone will y hear pure Irish, and they hear nearly every rule they learnt blown -high. In face of such a *measgán mearaidhe* how could one expect uracy from the children?

If it is the purpose of the Irish revival to create a language made of (mainly) Irish words which convey English ideas in an English

construction, then the sooner the huge sums which we spend on Iri
are turned over to some national purpose, the better it will be. B
if the aim of the Irish revival be the resurrection of a language whi
will serve as a bond of national continuity with our Gaelic past a
which, by the influence of its very turns of expression, of the ide
which are contained in it, will help us to realise that we are a separ
nation, a Gaelic nation, then surely it is time for us to examine
native literature when it was at its best, and see if we can find a
help there.

This collection of Bardic poetry, edited by Fr. McKenna, which
Stationery Office has taken the bold step of publishing as suitable
use in secondary schools, should be of great help to us in that resurr
tion. Bardic poetry is the Irish language at the highest state of devel
ment it had reached before the decadence of the eighteenth centu
set in. Hundreds of years of stern discipline had produced a terse a
vigorous style, a purity of idiom and a richness of expression unequal
by anything in the vernacular literature of its time, and which co
pared favourably with the great classic literatures. There was no s
thing as dialect forms. The grammatical forms were regulated by
canons of those "Irish Grammatical Tracts" which Dr. Bergin
edited in "Ériu." These allowed, it is true, some variations in spel
and declension, but even they were strictly set down.

If we want some degree of uniformity in Irish, so that teachers
say, "This is right; that is wrong," without the risk of being told t
they are ruining the pupil's Irish; if we want a literature that
be read without the exasperation of meeting exotic and unintelligi
expressions whose proper place is in a purely dialect literature o
the lips of uneducated people; if we want a language dominated
Irish canons of thought and idiom rather than a cloak of Irish w
over an English foundation—then here, in Bardic poetry, we l
the starting point. I say starting point, for it is obvious that
language of these poems will require a certain amount of moul
to bring it into contact with our needs today. It had the defect
its good qualities. Terseness tended to become obscurity; purit
idiom often degenerated into a deliberate search for archaisms;
even in these early poems there are signs of that deliberate heapin
of epithets that was to become the curse of later Irish literature.
while we admit its faults, Bardic poetry contains so much in the m
of style and idiom which we are in grave danger of losing altoge
that it would be criminal to neglect it.

There are one hundred and twenty-six poems in this book, of w
about one-half are religious poems, and the remainder are what ma
called historical poems. This collection represents part of the
fatigable labour which Fr. McKenna has, during the past twenty

rs, been expending on this particular branch of Irish literature. e poems are followed by a series of "Notes," all in Irish. As the ok is meant to be a school text, it seems a pity that these "Notes" re not done in English. A careful and copious translation of the der portions would have been a great help to teacher and pupil alike. wever, as Fr. McKenna has already published, with an English nslation, the greater number of these poems in the *Irish Monthly* m the year 1919 onwards, reference to that magazine should be of istance.

Finally, mention must be made of the excellent "vocabulary" ich Fr. McKenna has added to the poems. Strictly speaking, it is a vocabulary. It is rather a collection of Bardic phrases and oms. The fine shades of meaning of a word or phrase are illustrated full citations from the poems themselves, and this wonderful flexi-ty of our Irish language shows us clearly how much we have lost by fining ourselves to the native speaker's vocabulary. Admittedly, native speaker has, at his best, a good store of concise and pithy ns of expression, but it is a poor and jejune thing when compared h the richness of this literature. S. Ó C.

CONCISE COMPARATIVE CELTIC GRAMMAR. By Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; Agents: Blackwell (Oxford). 1937. Pp. 442. 28s. net.

serious students of the Celtic languages two works have long been lispensable. These are the *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen rachen* by Professor Holger Pedersen of Copenhagen, and the *Hand-ch des Alt-Irischen* by Professor Rudolf Thurneysen of Bonn. The mer appeared in 1908; the latter almost immediately afterwards 1909. They were the fruits of independent research on the part of o very distinguished scholars. Both held chairs of Comparative ilology; but while Professor Thurneysen had to deal with a nstant if thin trickle of Irish students in his classes at Freiburg and nn, Professor Pedersen, in the more remote northern capital, had such contacts. It was thus, perhaps, natural that Professor Thurney-n's work should treat mainly of Irish grammar and the handling Irish texts, and that Professor Pedersen's work should cover the der field of all the Celtic languages. As both books were written German, they could be used at first-hand by those alone who had hieved a mastery of that language.

Thanks to the exertions of admirers and friends and to the generosity the Irish Government an enlarged edition of Professor Thurneysen's Handbuch" will soon be available in English. As there is now no ltic Empire and no central Celtic government the "Vergleichende ammatik" could not expect similar support. A special word of

praise is thus due to the author and to his collaborator for having face the labour of translation and the risk of publication on their ow account.

Not, indeed, that the new volume is a mere translation of th *Vergleichende Grammatik*. There are adjustments and additions whic will at once attract the attention of the professional student. Th bibliography is brought pretty well up-to-date and the numberle articles and dissertations that have appeared in learned journals durin the past generation have been carefully examined. Thus to the i valuable list of verbs quite a series of new forms have been adde In arrangement and treatment, however, the original work is close followed. Nor is Professor Pedersen brought to abandon lightly viev which he has once come to hold : the process by which Indo-Europe p– comes to be lost in Celtic and the existence of od– as a preposition particle in verbal compounds (denied by Thurneysen) may be tak as cases in point.

But the chief feature of the new work is undoubtedly its succinctne The *Vergleichende Grammatik* was in two volumes : one 544 pages a the other 842 pages in length. It is no small achievement to compre this material into a single volume of 442 pages. The historian can but regret the disappearance of the original " Introduction " on t place of Celtic within the Indo-European family and the relationsh between Celtic and various other languages of the group. The rewriti of this section, in the light of the recent work of Meillet and othe by a scholar so competent as Professor Pedersen, would be of ext ordinary interest.

On the purely linguistic side nothing substantial has been l The main divisions into Phonology and Accidence and Syntax ha been retained. That there has been considerable abridgement is, course, obvious. Thus the section on accent is reduced from twenty- to eight pages, which implies, of necessity, the omission of a mass detail. The intention of the author and his collaborator has admitte been, not to supersede the *Vergleichende Grammatik* by a new wo but to provide in this work a synopsis of the greater *opus*. The stud then, as he advances, will need more and more to have the original t volumes at his elbow.

Though the section dealing with the complete paradigms of ver which has been such a boon to learners, has been curtailed from 237 86 pages, the loss is much less than might have been imagined. Thi due to a revised system of notation, by which the tense and person are dicated by a Roman numeral. Thus a great saving in space is effect

All things considered, this Concise Grammar must be regarded a highly successful enterprise. Its appearance should give a bac needed fillip to the study of the Celtic languages in the Universitie

J. F

Classics

ATONISM ANCIENT AND MODERN. By Paul Shorey. Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. XIV. University of California and Cambridge University Press. 1938. 11s. 6d. net.

E late Professor of Greek at Chicago was, after Gildersleeve's death, leading American classical scholar and one of the world's foremost tonists; his two large works and numerous papers figure in all liographies on his favourite subject. In 1928-9 he delivered eight tures, on Platonism and its influence, as Sather Professor at the iversity of California, but died before he could fully prepare his tures for the press. This book is therefore very unfortunately lack- in an all-important first chapter; the course began with a lecture itled "What is Platonism?" which could only have been made dy for print by its author, and is omitted by his very capable and nscientious editor. Professor Shorey's views on Platonism were hly personal and his criticism of rival interpretations pungent. In ding the later lectures we sometimes miss a fuller statement of both. en with this unavoidable deficiency, however, the book is one of the y best in a series which includes such a semi-classic as Professor ott's *Unity of Homer*. The subject is one whose treatment in such a rse of lectures required very special gifts of learning, tact, and mour, and Professor Shorey possessed the exact qualifications for task in a high degree.

His first lecture treats of Platonism in antiquity; beginning with e famous comic fragment of Epicrates satirising the Academy after e manner of the *Clouds*, it goes on to treat very briefly of the relation Isocrates and Aristotle to Plato, and then opens out into a charac- istic and delightful account of Stoicism. Here we come across a ndency against which Professor Shorey was indeed on his guard, t which at times perhaps caught him napping: the tendency to ntify as Platonic elements which might have reached later authors rough other channels and, in the case of the Stoics, perhaps direct m Socrates by way of Antisthenes. The second lecture is devoted the neo-Platonists, of whom Professor Shorey has but a poor opinion, sembling in this his fellow-countryman the late Paul Elmer More, ose remarkable volumes on *The Greek Tradition* he very strangely ver mentions. Next come two lectures on Platonism and Christianity d on Platonism in the Middle Ages, both full of learning and wit. ofessor Shorey speaks with due respect of St. Thomas, but in his est for authorities on medieval philosophy he seems rather unaccount- ly to have missed both Grabmann and Gilson. For the earlier edieval period, Plato meant almost entirely the *Timaeus*, and here find many striking instances of its power to inspire both poetry d scientific thought.

The Middle Ages, as far as Plato is concerned, come to an end wit Gemistos Plethon and Ficino, whose great Latin translation in 148 was one of the most influential books ever given to the world. Th lecture on the Renaissance travels from Ficino to Swinburne, showir how, side by side with the old stream which had branched off with th neo-Platonists, there now rose another, less broad but more direc which led gradually from the *Banquet* to modern interest in the *Republ* and the *Laws*. The two last lectures deal respectively with Platon influences on French and English literature. In both, while there perhaps more simple enumeration than Professor Shorey himse would have finally let pass, the interest is constantly kept alive by h never-failing originality and eye for good stories or apt comparison As an example of the former we give his quotation of Racine's aut graph note on his copy of Plato. Citing from the *Apology* the senten " But those are the most dangerous who take your sons from infan and persuade them of the truth of their doctrines," Racine—a go disciple of Port-Royal—adds: " Nota bene: Jésuites." Profes Shorey has much to say of Bacon's philosophy, of Milton, Loc Wordsworth, Shelley and Arnold, and in all cases his view is anythi but conventional, though few, probably, will go so far as he does estimating the Platonism of Locke and John Stuart Mill. Whet or not we accept all his views, no one at all interested in the imme subject over which he ranges with so much ease can fail to be fascina as well as instructed by his treatment of it. M. T.

History

A HISTORY OF EUROPE: 911-1198. By Z. N. Brooke.
A HISTORY OF EUROPE: 1198-1378. By C. W. Previté-Ort London: Methuen. 1937 and 1938. 16s. each.
HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE. Depuis les Origines jusqu' à nos Jo Vol. V. Grégoire le Grand, les Etats barbares et la Conqu arabe. Par Louis Bréhier et René Aigrain. Paris: Bloud et G 1938. 75 fr.
THE VATICAN AS A WORLD POWER. By Joseph Bernha London: Longmans. 1939. 15s.
A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. By Rev. Ph Hughes. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1938. 7s. 6

DURING the past few weeks public interest has centred, to an unus degree, round the Roman See and its occupants, past and pres That interest was roused by an accidental fact: the death of our l Holy Father, Pius XI. But the occasion is suitable for review briefly some recent books which bring home to us the growing inte of English readers in the history of the Papacy and the steady reval

n of what were once accepted standards during the past twenty or rty years. The first two books on our list are of special significance, they have been published as two out of the eight volumes in which ssrs. Methuen and Co. have planned a re-edition of their well-known ies of the "History of Medieval and Modern Europe."

More than twenty years ago Dr. Previté-Orton wrote a short *Outline Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1916), which is still an admirable vey of the subject as a whole. Yet there was not a little in that ume which needed to be questioned by Catholic scholars: sweeping, ugh brilliant, generalisations that showed the influence of an earlier ool of thought. Since then Dr. Previté-Orton has made important ntributions to the history of medieval political thought, and has en his full share as editor in the work of producing the *Cambridge dieval History*. The result of twenty years study and thought can seen in this excellent summary of European history, from the ession of Innocent III to the year of the Great Schism. The fact t the two dates which mark the limits of this volume are taken from history of the Papacy is itself a proof that the author looks to the pacy as the central fact in the Europe about which he writes. And writes about the Popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries h admirable judgment. It is not always an edifying tale that he s to tell, for Innocent III found no successor of his own calibre, and period as a whole is a period of declining power and prestige. But opening survey of Europe at the accession of the great Pope is a lliant piece of writing, in which the geographical factors are stressed less than the material and spiritual sides of medieval society; and two chapters on Innocent III himself and his great rival and former pil, Frederick II, are fine examples of his mature scholarship. Initably the Catholic reader will turn to the chapter on Philip the Fair, which the author has to tell the story of the triumph of French lay wer over a great though all too human Pope, Boniface VIII. Once ain, the story is told fairly and in due perspective. It is a long cry m this temperate narrative to the old-fashioned polemics against insanely ambitious despot. And it is worth noting in this context at Oxford has recently produced a full-length portrait of Boniface II, by Dr. T. S. R. Boase, which is a very erudite and very brilliantly itten justification of the greater part of Boniface's policy.

Dr. Brooke's period of European history is the classic period of the dieval Papacy, beginning with the Germany of Henry the Fowler d the Ottos, including the great century of Catholic revival in the e of Hildebrand and the Crusades, and ending with the death of Emperor who had proved an exceptionally formidable antagonist, nry VI. Readers who are familiar with the bulky volumes of the *mbridge Medieval History* will not need to be told that Dr. Brooke

has done more than most men to restate the history of the mediev Papacy in a narrative which, though never brilliant, wins the confiden of the reader as the estimate of a learned and fair-minded man. H volume on this much-debated period is therefore a most welcor addition to the Methuen series, from the Catholic point of view. tells at full length the long story of a contest between Popes a Emperors which was illumined by the words and deeds of rulers great as any that Europe has known. It will make a wide public famili with the principles of Catholic theology and Catholic society, as liv and fought for in one of the great ages of human history.

The imposing series of French volumes being issued by the fi of Bloud et Gay now counts six volumes; for this fifth volume appe after volume VI, which was the work of a single author, M. Amar There is perhaps nothing in its 576 pages which equals in general terest M. Amann's penetrating analysis of the causes of the tra schism between East and West; and there is no single commandi figure like Charlemagne, round whose career the whole story can made to turn. This fifth volume is chiefly notable for a long series chapters by M. Louis Bréhier on the history of the Byzantine Empi from the accession of Gregory the Great in 590 to the Iconoclast Cou which Constantine V convoked in 754. These chapters do not ma easy reading; for M. Bréhier is an exceedingly conscientious scho and the story is crammed with details of every kind. But they are very real value as an interpretation of the seemingly unending heres of the Eastern Church in the light of Byzantine politics; and Bréhier has also a very competent summary of the first phases of t Mohammedan movement and the immigration of the various S groups into the Balkan countries. From these new forces were to co consequences that men did not as yet foresee. The tragedy of the fi schism between East and West was largely due to the presence o great wedge of Slav peoples at that point, strangers both to Rome a Constantinople, and effectually cutting off the two main portions the ancient Roman Empire. The early Mohammedan victories, wh are here narrated, finally provoked that immense counter moveme of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which has given Catholic Eur some of her proudest memories.

M. Aigrain shares this volume with M. Bréhier; for there is l unity in European history at this moment than in the following c turies, when Charles the Great had imposed the rule of his amaz will and had gone far to restore the Roman unity that had been l The volume opens with a fine chapter by M. Aigrain on that gr Benedictine Pope, St. Gregory the Great. No Pope has deserved name better, and his lovable personality, combined with an unus range of intellectual interests and spiritual ideals, shines forth once m

hese pages. Among the later chapters, two chapters on England Ireland and on Western monasticism deserve notice. M. Aigrain ls here with the Celtic monastic movement, and is content to sum-ise the well-known works of Dom Gougaud. He pays special atten-to the missionary work accomplished by the Anglo-Saxon and ic monks, and traces the gradual supremacy of the Benedictine rule. nal chapter on the temporal possessions of the Holy See in the eighth tury is useful, since this century saw the origins of the Papal States. What MM. Fliche and Martin, with their many collaborators, have ined to do in twenty-four volumes, Dr. Bernhart attempts in one ime. His rapid sketch of the Vatican as a world power through e on twenty centuries is no easy book to review. It is not merely t Dr. Bernhart is the typical modern journalist, hasty but vivid is manner of writing: content to give a thumb-nail sketch where a re cautious scholar would need pages of pros and cons carefully anced. The root of the trouble is that this German author is writing an Anglo-Saxon public; and is writing with a thesis to prove, ch he argues in the modern style, with strained, over-tense and r-coloured phrases.

Under Fichte's influence Dr. Bernhart attempts to state the history the Vatican in terms of action and re-action, human and divine ining and struggling one against the other. It is an impressive me, but the effort to condense the narrative in which the thesis is ted and illustrated into 450 pages has led Dr. Bernhart to burke ny issues and to shoot out judgments and epigrams which challenge tradiction. I have turned from episode to episode in this short book l have always found myself uneasy and hustled, wishing for more e in which to ask and answer questions, more than half resentful the author's haste and breathless eagerness. And there is also an iety to show sympathy for criticisms that have come from adverse rters, especially from medieval and modern Germany, which is haps a salutary reminder of the deadweight of prejudice that has to be overcome in many minds, but which makes it difficult for a holic reader in this country to feel at ease in this book.

Father Hughes brings us to more familiar territory, and it is late the day to praise the qualities that make him one of the most solid l comforting writers of the present Catholic revival in England. is *Popular History of the Church* follows the longer and very able *story of the Church* which Messrs. Sheed and Ward issued four or five rs ago. Brief, scholarly, well-balanced, it is perhaps less " popular " n its title might imply. But it is an admirable short survey of the ject, and should do much to guide readers to more detailed studies. ends with the pontificate of Pius XI, whose biography Fr. Hughes written as one scholar's tribute to another. A. G.

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN AND AFTER. By W. N. Medicott. London: Methuen. 1938. 15s. net.

MR. MEDLICOTT'S book is a good example of the investigational wo that is being so zealously promoted in modern schools of histo Based on a thorough and painstaking study of sources, for a la part hitherto unused because unavailable, it is a commendable eff to present a full narrative of the negotiations that led to the Treaty Berlin and of the attempts made down to 1880 to give its provisi practical form. For many reasons such a book deserves to be w comed: not the least is the fact that the most vital and instruct part of the history of great deplomatic transactions is that part wh has not been written at all. The diplomatists make known the res of their work; the considerations that determine these results t keep to themselves, and these considerations are usually very differ from what they are represented to be in the official protocols, the m purpose of which would appear to be to conceal rather than reveal truth.

The Congress of Berlin was one of the major achievements of diplomacy of the last century. By it, for the time being, were dispe the war-clouds, and a simulacrum of European peace was set up. representatives of the powers most intimately concerned in the ceedings of the Congress were enabled to return to their respec countries with more or less substantial proofs of their capacity to g and direct the course of national policies. Disraeli returned to Lon in a blaze of triumph, not ashamed to utter the thrasonical (borrowed by a successor in our own day) that he was the bringe "peace with honour." In the house of peace, however, were st the seeds of war which, a generation later, were to bear their predest fruit in the cataclysm which almost destroyed the civilisation of world.

Mr. Medlicott, keeping close to the actual records, sets forth the to-day proceedings of the Congress during its month's session u the presidency of Bismarck. He is content for the most part to recorder, and but rarely does he intervene with a comment on facts of his record. Bismarck had offered his services as medi between the conflicting interests, and the record shows that he meticulously to his rôle of "honest broker." All the parties (exc of course, the small peoples of the Near East, who did not count who, no matter how closely the deliberations concerned them, allowed no voice in the decisions) obtained something that coul regarded as more or less satisfactory. England, the traditional cham of the Turk in Christian Europe, strengthened her hold on the Sub Porte; Austria-Hungary was given a free hand in Bosnia and zegovina; Russia, forced to forgo in great part what she had

the field and had forced the Turk to yield at San Stefano, was not t without compensatory spoils. As for the small peoples, the tims of Turkish misgovernment, they were left to continue the rt they had so long filled in the European State-system—that of Christian toad beneath the Islamic harrow.

Mr. Medlicott's study is useful not only as a record; it is also useful a warning. One lesson it can teach is that it is wise to distrust state-craft that professes to be based on high moral principles. is lesson is needed today more, perhaps, than ever before. At no vious time were the moral bases of rival policies more stressed. every side in the international debate appeal is made to high-nding principles—the sanctity of treaties, the sanctity of the rule public law, and so on. It were wise for the man in the street—upon om the results of policy must ultimately fall—to be somewhat tical as to how far such appeals are *bona fide*—and not least of all en they are put forward by the statesmen of his own country. It useful to know that none of the disputants in the international con-t can be truthfully said to have clean hands. In fact a main cause the world *malaise* of to-day is that the hands of them all are unclean. is is a fact that the interested guides of the public conscience are t likely to reveal, and it is all to the good for the well-being of the rld that dispassionate studies, such as on the whole this book is, uld be available for our instruction. For though it deals with nts of some sixty years ago, in many respects it reads like a con-bution to the international debates of the present day. W. J. W.

E ORMOND DEEDS. Vol. IV. A.D. 1509–1547. Edited by Edmund Curtis, Litt.D. Published for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1938. 20s.

E new issue of the collection of papers at Kilkenny Castle more n maintains the great interest for students both of general and of ional history—social, political, and linguistic—which its predecessors ve always evoked. The three hundred pages of the work of Dr. rtis are supplemented by seventy-five from Mr. D. B. Quinn, giving very satisfactory fullness the London (P.R.O. and B.M.) Ormond ts for the years 1480–1535.

The entire work presents the fortunes of the House of Butler in land and in England at the critical period of transit from com-ative weakness to great strength. The recovery of landed power l of key positions, in the counties Kilkenny and Tipperary, can ily be traced in a great number of documents—most clearly, perhaps, those relative to the O'Kennedys over the two Ormond Baronies l the bordering lands. Even stronger is the interest of the connec-ns between the Butler and Boleyn houses on the English front,

and the part played by Henry VIII and the Court Officials regardi
the succession to Butler territories and to the Earldom of Ossor

The later deeds of these two sets of papers place the alert read
in many family contacts between this volume, ending in 1547, a
the two volumes of the Civil Survey of Tipperary, 1654–56. Bo
for the landed families on the Butler domains and for the many landl
who are incidentally mentioned in the deeds, the comparisons are
great import. T. C.

THE MODERN HISTORIAN. By C. H. Williams. Londo
Nelson. 1938. 7s. 6d.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY historians lack the self-assurance of their el
brothers of the nineteenth century. The author of this antholo
who is a Professor of History in the University of London, has
attempted a formal assessment of the value of modern history
an analysis of the new historical methods nor even an essay on
meaning and scope of history as art or science. The book he
planned is perhaps all the more interesting for being an antholo
Here are passages from the recognised historians of the past qua
of a century, with Lord Acton, York Powell and Bury as leaders
the team. Acton's famous lecture has been pillaged for more t
one long quotation; and Bury's challenging statement that hist
is a science—nothing more and nothing less—is here in full.
Professor Williams has been at pains to let the more modern histor
have their say, and he has succeeded in producing a very skilful apol
for their trade—to use a term which avoids decision as to science
art. Mr. Guedalla is here to voice the thoughts of the new scho
biographers. Professors Powicke, Temperley, Trevelyan and Taw
speak for very different schools; and the volume closes with s
well-chosen biographical memoirs of men who are no longer her
speak for themselves, notably with Professor Powicke's estimat
the true value of Tout's work.

There is no single answer to the problems of the modern histor
whose subject-matter has been enlarged with such alarming rapi
and whose technical methods are becoming so exact as to crea
real danger that history must cease in future to be literature at
Professor Williams, for all his sympathy with the modern histo
is plainly on the side of the humanist in his short but brilliantly wri
Introduction. It is a pity that he should have sought to pillory
Belloc as typical of the popularising, "vulgarising" historian,
writes for the masses and has no scruple in plagiarising from his
fessional rivals. Mr. Belloc's methods lay him open to attack, a
best friends must ruefully admit. But, if Professor Williams
thought fit to quote a passage in which plagiarism is only too obv

night in justice have added any other of many passages in which Belloc has taught the professional modern historians a much led lesson in the two great truths: that history is not history at nless it is written by men who understand human nature in real and that erudition is no excuse for dreary writing. A. G.

Politics

VER. A New Social Analysis. By Bertrand Russell. London: Allen & Unwin. 1938. 7s. 6d.

s is a difficult book. It attempts, in a brief space, to discuss so many plicated problems that only too often we encounter, at the height ur interest, disconcerting disclaimers—"this subject would take nto questions of detail which I do not wish to discuss" or again, shall not pursue this subject, as it would take us too far from our ne." Nor is it as easy, as one might at first suppose, to be quite of what the theme is. In the opening chapter it seems quite ificant. "In the course of this book I shall be concerned to prove the fundamental concept in social science is power, in the same e in which energy is the fundamental concept of physics." This ht seem a counterblast to the Marxian theory that the clue to all al interpretation and the motive force in all historical development to be found in economical causes. But Earl Russell has a finer sense he complexity of social phenomena than the Marxians, and it is cult to say whether he genuinely wishes to maintain that the desire power is a universal explanation of social and historical develop- t or merely a very pervasive motive in politics—as no doubt it is. does not accept the extreme psychology of Hobbes: "In the first e I put for a general inclination of all mankind a perpetual and less desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death."

There is, of course, something very attractive for the natural lazy d in those universally explanatory principles. With a little in- uity so much can be fitted into the system. But, on the other hand, ple explanations of human motivation are seldom true. There are r motives besides desire for power. "Love of power, though one he strongest of human motives, is very unevenly distributed, and mited by various other motives, such as love of ease, love of pleasure, sometimes love of approval. It is disguised among the more timid n impulse of submission to leadership, which increases the scope of power-impulses of bold men." This is not as easy as it looks. Is impulse of submission in fact identical with love of power? If meaning of the desire for power is so extended as to include the ulse of submission, if it also includes the desire for spiritual power, self-mastery through humility, for moral power, and so forth, the le theme becomes nugatory. In this wide sense no one is concerned

to deny it. If it is given a narrower sense, the contention that it is fundamental concept in social science, in the same sense in which ene is the fundamental concept of physics, seems clearly untrue.

Nor can it be plausibly argued that " those whose love of powe not strong are unlikely to have much influence on the course of eve The men who cause social changes are, as a rule, men who stron desire to do so. Love of power, therefore, is a characteristic of the r who are causally important." This kind of argument seems import only because it is question-begging. If one could be certain that r who have exercised power have always desired it, have not been men commonly are) swayed by very mixed motives, have been aw of their " influence on the course of events," and so on, there migh something in the contention. But the causes of the historical imp ance of individuals are extraordinarily difficult to unravel. I obviously ridiculous, as the author is aware, to *explain* St. Franci Assisi, as a Marxian would do, by purely economic causes; but i equally absurd to explain him by the love of power.

It is perhaps inevitable that, in so brief a survey, one should h a pervading sense of superficiality. The thesis of the book would req an elaborate psychological analysis, a developed social theory, a ph sophy of history. History is somewhat outside the range of the auth competence. Here it is compressed into two chapters on " Pri Power " and " Kingly Power." In the nature of the case his hist is highly selective. " The world is so full of a number of things " Earl Russell has an admirable field for his *saeva indignatio*. The re no doubt, will share at times in this not-unpleasant feeling. But confidence in the accuracy of the picture may occasionally be sh by such *obiter scripta* as the following :—

" Usually religion legitimizes the new family by means of s traditional ceremony. Priestly power profits by these occasions, s it comes to be an essential support of the royal prestige. ' *No Bis no King,' said Charles I, and the analogue of this maxim has been in all ages* "—a passage which seems to show that a king can be iden with his own father !

" This position is much what it was in Europe in the year 1 when Pope Silvester II was reputed a magician because he read bo and was consequently able to increase the power of the Churc inspiring metaphysical terrors " (p. 44) . . . . " By them [the Norm for the first time, ecclesiastical England was brought completely u the dominion of Rome " (p. 58). These chapters are not so r history as a selection of episodes which enable one to estimate the r of the author's prejudices.

The chapter on " Power and Moral Codes " is particularly confu Morality apparently has something to do with power, but wha

nection is it is difficult to discover. "Positive morality enjoins nission to parents, husbands and kings because they are powerful; the Church is powerful because of its moral authority." "The is that the moral code is an expression of power is, as we have seen, wholly true."

But perhaps the most precious thing in the whole book is the explaon of our old friend of the ethical text-books—filial piety. "There savages at the present day who, when their parents grow too old work, sell them to be eaten. At some stage in the development of lization, *it must have occurred* to some man of unusual forethought he could, while his children were still young, produce in them a e of mind which would lead them to keep him alive in old age; *umably* he was a man whose own parents were already disposed of. reating a party to support his subversive opinion, *I doubt* whether ppealed merely to motives of prudence; *I suspect* that he invoked Rights of Man, the advantages of a mainly frugiferous diet, and the al blamelessness of the old who have worn themselves out labouring their children. *Probably* there was at the moment some emaciated unusually wise elder whose advice was felt to be more valuable his flesh. However this may be, *it came to be felt* that one's parents ld be honoured rather than eaten" (p. 239).

The italics in this remarkable passage are mine. Perhaps it is essary to say that the passage is not intended to be jocose. It is as d an example as one could wish for of Mr. Bradley's maxim: "Assert t you know nothing at all about to be the explanation of everything ."

D. O'K.

TO CAESAR. By F. A. Voigt. London: Constable. 1938. 10s. nett.

ADITION AND PROGRESS. By Ross Hoffmann. Milwaukee: Bruce. 1938. $2.

e marked polemical tone of Mr. Voigt's book in no way detracts from great value or from the just and telling criticisms to which it subjects ne modern systems of political thought and practice. This tone, eed, may have the advantage of acting as a challenge to the reader examine critically the author's views; but he will find that the great jority of them are not only pungently expressed but are all too fully ified. The vigorous condemnation is merely evidence of the vastness the evils which he investigates and of the seriousness which he ributes to them. Though particularly apt to the present moment, book is of considerable permanent value—dealing, as it does, with ic truths and with questions which, if under different forms, seem ennial. It abounds in many a striking phrase or epigram which,

unlike so many of the kind, have the merit of being fully, not mer half, true. For it is rich in insight and in searching criticism—w many a shrewd summing up. There are few pages which do not stin late, and many possess considerable value to both the general rea and to the student of modern developments in political doctrine a practice. For this and other reasons this book can be heartily rec mended.

The opening chapter on Marxism and Dialectic Materialism typical of the whole book, and its ruthless examination is ever to point. The comparison of Bolshevism and National Socialism, Lenin (Stalin) and Hitler, is as refreshing as it is sound. Despite m that has been written, I think that the author is on solid groun seeing in Lenin and in Hitler not only the makers of new polit machines but the apostles of new quasi-religions—secular religi Hence their intolerance. Hence the full measure of the danger European civilisation and Christian values. Unlike many complac contemporaries, Mr. Voigt has pierced through to the real signific not only of Bolshevism but equally of National Socialism. To si out one of the many pregnant pages devoted to this problem wo in the language of the dramatic critic, "be unfair to other equ striking" passages. Despite their open and professed hostility recognises the striking similarity of the moving spirit in both of t systems or movements. Differences in some important points of look, differences partly due to the experience and characters of founders, cannot conceal this basic kinship. Both systems ' despotic in their methods and mentality. Both have enthron modern Caesar, the Collective Man, the implacable enemy of individual soul. Both will render unto this Caesar the things tha God's." These sentences give the central idea of this book and indication of the author's style. There is also much truth in the cl "To understand contemporary secular religions it is necessar understand Marxism. It is the first of these religions to achie widespread dominion over the souls of men. Only when we examined Marxism can we proceed to examine National Socialism In no case will terrorism cease either in Russia or in Germany the secular religiosity of which it is the instrument begins to va Modern secular religion is by nature terroristic."[1]

The point of contact and of divergence between the Russian German dictatorships on the one hand and the Italian on the the reader will find of considerable interest. The same remark a to the thoughtful analysis, based on deep knowledge, of the interna

[1] It might be interesting to examine how far a different view on the central p of ideology in National Socialism is taken in a challenging and profound study recently appeared from the pen of Hermann Rauschning—*Die Revolution des Nihi*

ation as it was last Spring. This time-qualification is necessary uch a rapidly changing world of politics. It would be interesting know whether semi-recent and recent events have at all modified Voigt's views on what he considers the proper lines which ought e pursued by English foreign policy.

I may be unduly prejudiced in favour of this work, as the author put brilliantly and arrestingly many of the ideas to which a study Bolshevism and National Socialism had led myself. There are, of rse, some expressions of opinion with which the reader will probably e with me in not being able to accept; but this is only to be expected n you have to do with such a variety of complex problems or with many facets of the same problem. It in no way detracts from warm welcome which should be extended to this remarkable k.

Like Mr. Voigt, whose volume we have just reviewed, Mr. Hoffmann s proof of the interest that is now felt in what may be roughly ed the philosophy of politics and the need for a much more thorough mination of various contemporary problems than they have been he custom of receiving. It may seem at first sight as if his treat- it lacked unity—the separate chapters having originally appeared emeal, largely in the form of articles centering around various books ch provided the occasion for their publication. Any such impression uld be misleading. Binding together the different essays there is basic Catholic philosophic outlook of the author. There is also a siderable identity in the subject-matters dealt with. Mr. Hoffmann s stress, and to do so is both necessary and useful, on the import- e of genuine life-giving tradition and on the lamentable consequence its neglect. I wonder, however, whether his insistence on the essity of the culture derived from the Roman Empire for the fare of Catholicism is not over-emphasised.

It is a pity that the manner in which this book has been together almost precludes the author from anything more n a setting forth of the problems and an adumbration of the s on which the solution should be sought. But it is important that se basic problems should be definitely raised—too long has the world n content with an empiric treatment of the symptoms, obstinately using to investigate the deep-seated roots of the diseases that threaten very existence of our civilisation. The style is attractive and the ws clearly expressed. On occasion, there is perhaps a failure to drive ne the argument. Some of the chapters—I instance the last—raise stions a fuller answer to which we should like the author some e to supply us.

J. M. O'S.

THE PORTUGAL OF SALAZAR. By Michael Derrick. Londo
Sands. 1938. 5s. net.
ECONOMIC PLANNING IN CORPORATIVE PORTUGA
By Freppel Cotta. London: King. 1937. 8s. 6d.
POLITICS: A Portuguese Statesman. By Arthur Ribeiro Lop
London: Methuen. 1938. 5s. net.

PORTUGAL is still very much in the news in Catholic circles, judging the number of new books and long articles published almost month Yet of concrete, detailed, and useful information about the politi and economic life of present-day Portugal there is very little in Engli There is practically nothing that is of sufficiently critical and w informed quality to enable one to judge the success or failure Salazar's efforts in the various departments of social, economic a political life. Portugal of 1938 is, obviously, a very different Portu from Portugal of 1910-1926. But so is Russia of 1938 a very differ Russia from that of Czardom. What we really want to know ab Portugal today is what Salazar has learnt in the last ten years, what he knew and taught Portugal during these years.

Mr. Derrick's book is excellent in its own way, but not very in mative or very useful to the practical reformer or statesman. I not think that there is anything of real value in it that has not b published already many times over in French and even in Engl It is, of course, convenient to have within the covers of one book this information; but it is tantalising that a book published in 1 gives one so little material to form a judgment on how Salazar's id are working out in practice. Salazar has brought order out of diso —an enormous achievement: but now—has he discovered new meth and new organisations that will bring more than order, that will b peace and justice and prosperity? We are told he has; but we given very little information about the actual day-to-day workin these methods and organisations. Mr. Derrick, indeed, rejects idea of assessing "Portugal's debt to Dr. Salazar in terms of reinfo concrete." It is a pity: reinforced concrete is a very solid result new social and economic principles to produce—it has its apolog value.

But we must not be too ungrateful. To those who have not de Poncins, de Reynold, Ferro, Müller, Cotta (all of whom Mr. De has used with good effect), the *Portugal of Salazar* ought to be welc There is a good account of Salazar himself, preceded by an adeq synopsis of modern Portuguese history. Then a chapter on the ciples and Practice of the Corporate State follows. But why dic Derrick insist on "corporate"—and still more, why "State"? I this very chapter he is quite clearly aware of the distinction bet "a corporate State" and "a corporative organisation of soci

seems, too, aware that Portugal cannot be fairly called a " corte State " : he quotes more than once the now familiar distinction rporatisme d'état " and " corporatisme d'association." Moreover, ctually explains (though not very accurately or satisfactorily) the ning of the word " corporative "—and yet he sticks to his " corte State." He cannot be ignorant of the discussions of Catholic logists on this matter of terminology : a few years ago one was d to tears at international *semaines* and conferences by this nachy. But it had its utility : it brought uniformity and clarity our technical terms.

'hat Salazar is not a currency or credit reformer ought to be obvious nyone who has followed his career. He is, on the contrary, a most ervative economist in credit and finance matters. This has been ght out in our own Banking Commission's Report by Most Rev. MacNeely and Professor O'Brien. But it is interesting to see how Mr. Derrick and M. Cotta confirm this well-known fact. " He has pletely, and incredibly, rehabilitated the national finances," says Derrick. " Moreover," he adds, " there has been no repudiation bligations, no artificial devices, no short cuts to solvency. The uguese budget has shown a substantial surplus every year since , although ordinary expenditure has always been met from revenue, out recourse to loans. The national credit stands high in foreign cets ; the external floating debt has been completely paid off ; escudo has been stabilised ; the internal price-level has long been ly ; industry prospers, and extensive public works have been rtaken." When Salazar wanted money for public works or for ncing agriculture or for social services, he has either got it by tion, open and acknowledged, or by borrowing from his own nals and paying them for the loan. He has not tried the furtive, really rather dishonest, method of inflation—under some less v name, of course. Freppel Cotta tells the same story. " Tackling financial problem, the Professor did not bring any new theories, simply the practical, methodical and disciplined application of a good housewife should know, as he himself said." It is ludicrous ink of Salazar as a daring young man on the flying trapeze in the er of credit and finance : he has not yet joined that international of credit-acrobats and jugglers who add so much to the gaiety ations—but, so far, so little to their prosperity.

otta's book is the nearest approach to a satisfactory account ne Portuguese corporative economy in action that has been pubd in English. It is a scholarly and scientific work : full of facts figures and empty of rhetoric. An intelligible picture of how all corporative organisation actually works out in practice can be rom these 180 pages. But it is a book that must be studied ; it

will yield little to a cursory glance. Every branch of Portugue economic activity is treated of—succinctly, clearly, orderly. Fro wheat and wine to cod fish and sardines, we are brought chapter chapter through the various reforms that have produced and ma function the Corporations or Guilds which now form the econon structure of Portugal.

One of the most interesting and actual of these Guilds is that of t Banks, described on pages 144-149. "The first measure of reorga zation was to stabilise the escudo at 110 to the £ (which was about level prevailing since 1927) on Gold Exchange Standard. When Gr Britain left the Gold Standard in September 1931, Portugal remain pegged to the pound at the same rate, on Currency Exchange Standar The escudo is still 110 to the £, though the £ has depreciated considera since 1931: evidently the advantages which New Zealand and, t much smaller extent, Denmark and Sweden seem to find in dep ciating their currency, do not appeal to Salazar. He had to red or *contract* the Portuguese note-issue, not *expand* it, as has sometim been asserted. It has been decreed that "the note circulation sho not exceed £20,000,000, except when the economic needs of the cour demand an increase, and then only after a previous agreement w Government. There was, however, liberty to exceed the maxim limit when the excess issue was covered 100 per cent. by gold bul or coin reserves."

This is a much more rigid limitation of the currency (and cre than under our own system. In Ireland, the Currency Commis must issue legal tender notes to an unlimited amount against "m . . . . in any form which is for the time being legal tender in G Britain" or to a Shareholding Bank against a "bank draft pay at sight in London." It is hard to see how, "when the economic n of the country demand," anyone who wants to expand or contract currency is not quite free to do it: whereas in Portugal the fiduc issue is strictly limited by decree. As a matter of fact, the legal te currency has been expanding considerably in the last few yea Ireland: from an original £6,000,000 to over £9,000,000. But an who thinks this too much can contract it by changing some of his legal tender notes into English money.

Salazar has, it is true, brought banking in Portugal under r stricter control—an excellent but quite orthodox and conserv procedure. He has, also, made better arrangements for the fina of agriculture and the distribution of credit to smaller busin But in none of these matters has he ventured on any new or re tionary experiments.

Dr. Lopes' book is a collection of short and slight essays on a va of topics. They might easily be a number of leading articles fro

es of some weekly journal or perhaps a collection of review-articles. y are the product of a cultured mind and are suggestive and stimu- ng. But one fancies that they lose a great deal by being (we assume) nslations and still more by being immigrants to a strange public who not follow all the references and allusions. The longest, and possibly best, of these essays is one on Corporativism : a meditation rather n an exposition or explanation. It is a pity that the English is so gid and contorted as to be obscure. Here is a sample : Corporativism an extremely realistic idea, and as such, considering labour as an nal fount of right and the basis of social dignity, and representing accumulation of daily experience in its objectivity, it is a doctrine re and above all unfitted to create that paradisaical image with ch socialism deludes and leads labour gregarianism." Such sen- es, and there are many of them, are too good parodies of modern try to be either pleasant or useful. E. J. C.

E POOR AND OURSELVES. By Daniel-Rops. Translated by Barbara Wall. London : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1938. 2s. 6d. net.

TITUTION is a subject usually left to the economist or social reformer. these brief essays M. Daniel-Rops treats it from the new angle he social-minded Catholic with an appreciation of all the spiritual lications that are apt to escape the notice of the indifferent istian. In truth the French word *misère*—" La misère et nous " ne original title—unavoidably translated here by destitution, lends lf better to his denunciation of " that degrading insecurity that lisation imposes on some of its members." Thus he treats of itution mainly and rightly as " an anti-spiritual force that is cally destructive of all that by which man is man." The book uld be widely read by Catholics as a spur to our consciences so to be unduly complacent where chronic social evils are concerned. as been competently translated by Mrs. Wall, although her habitual of conversational abbreviations—" don't," " isn't " and so forth— ier grates on the ear. V. M. C.

Spirituality : Eastern and Western

E EASTERN BRANCHES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. Six Studies on the Oriental Rites. With an Introduction by Donald Attwater. London : Longmans. 1938. 6s. net.

SE studies are a reprint, without the original illustrations, from a ial number of the American quarterly *Liturgical Arts*. Their ct is to serve as a popular introduction to the Christianity of the -Latin Orient, on which Mr. Attwater has already produced two

valuable books. To readers of the latter there will be little new in t first three studies, which deal briefly and interestingly with the East Churches in general and with the Syro-Malankara Church and that Ethiopia. Special value is given to the second and third by the f that they were written by His Excellency Mar Ivanios and His Emine Cardinal Tisserant respectively. The last three studies deal w matters less within reach of the ordinary reader. Fr. O'Hara discus the relation between the Eastern Rites and the Code of Canon L and brings out the differences, sometimes striking, that mark Western discipline from the venerable Oriental tradition. His b essay is both illuminating and suggestive.

The longest and also the most valuable contribution, however that of Fr. J. La Farge, S.J., on "Liturgy and Asceticism in the East Church." Fr. La Farge shows very clearly that the most far-reac differences between Oriental and Roman are not after all ritual, still less doctrinal, but lie rather "in the field of personal religi ideals." In speaking of the Orient, he means of course the Gre Russian Church, and is careful to insist that ethnical psychology well as differences in traditional emphasis may be involved. "Li gical life," he says, "enters more intimately into the life of an Eas than it does into the life of his equally religious-minded Wes brother." This liturgical life has an intimate relation also with practice of asceticism, and the second part of this study is a interesting brief sketch of the powerful Russian ascetic tradition, w had its roots in the Egyptian desert and has brought forth m strange flowers. Western observers have never clearly unders this Russian religiosity, which is still, in spite of Communism, far being a spent force and is even beginning, through writers like Ber and the "Sophiologists" to exert a certain influence on the Eng speaking world. How far it may be deflected by Communist pre from its genuine Christian character within Russia itself is a interesting question for the future.

The final study, by Fr. Ildefonse Dircks, O.S.B., is entitled " Spiritual and Aesthetic Value of Icons," and is a valuable comple to Fr. La Farge's work. Here again we have explained for us s thing that is essential to the Eastern religious mentality, while la unknown to the West; for the holy icons have acquired the char of sacramentals, and play an enormous part in Graeco-Russian l "The Orthodox Russian people, so profoundly religious though learned, has taken all its Christian formation from the Liturgy the icons. Under the supervision of the episcopate, this constitu first-rate plan of formation." When we remember, as we always sh that the Russian Church was only accidentally and indirectly matical, and that it undoubtedly possesses, in however imperf

n, its own Christian life, the importance of these formative elements not be exaggerated, and gives a vital interest to all Catholics in ything connected with Russia. Irish Catholics are far better ipped to understand and sympathise with Russia in her sufferings n those without the true fold who have attempted to establish illusory "communion" with Orthodoxy. The little book closes n an excellent critical bibliography. M. T.

MINICAN LIFE. By Father F. D. Joret, O.P. Foreword by Father Bernard Delany, O.P. London: Sands. 1937. 7s. 6d.
ME DOMINICAINE. Par R. P. Marie Albert Janvier, O.P. Paris: Editions Spes. 1933. 12 fr.
E SPIRIT OF ST. DOMINIC. By Father Humbert Clérissac, O.P. Revised and edited, with an introduction, by Father Bernard Delany, O.P. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1938. 6s.

E JORET'S great work *Notre Vie Dominicaine* now appears in English s and should be very welcome, not only to Dominican Tertiaries ne world but to all friends and admirers of the great Order of Friars achers. For the Dominican Tertiary in the world it is primarily nded, but even regular Tertiaries as well as members of the First Second Orders will, I think, find an honoured place for it among r books for spiritual reading. The outsider, whether he be a devout olic or merely a man of good will who is anxious to know something he *inner life* of the Order which gave St. Thomas Aquinas to the rch, will find what he needs in Père Joret's book. It is very com- e in its statement of the daily life and spirit of the friars and nuns are children of St. Dominic, and sets out an ideal for the Tertiaries— are also of the Order, although they live not in the cloister but in world. I was very much struck by Chapter V, which deals with Dominican types of prayer in a way that will interest all students he spiritual life.

Père Janvier's *L'Ame Dominicaine* is a collection of addresses and les dealing with the varied types illustrative of the Order's life: Priest, the Doctor of the Church, the Missionary, the Preacher, Tertiary, and the pupils of Dominican Schools. It is an eloquent s of brief biographies, very interesting in subject matter and essed with all the beauty of style we would expect from one who great preacher in an Order of great preachers. The discourse on intellectual humility of St. Thomas is a gem.

'The chapters that make up this book [*The Spirit of St. Dominic*] originally retreat conferences preached in English by Père issac to his Dominican brethren in England over twenty years

ago." This sentence of Father Delany gives the immediate aim of t book and its special note, its intimate Dominican character. B it will appeal, I think, to a vast number of good Christians outsi that great Order. Personally I was delighted with it, and I think ma others will share my feelings. It is not merely a devout work: it both readable and profound. It gives one a very clear statement Dominican spirituality, its special tone and character. Père Cléris brings out the special flavour of the Dominican life and shows us wh are the root ideas, the basic principles on which that life rests.

Chapter XII, which seems to me the keystone of the arch, is qu fascinating to one like myself who has read a little about the gr Banez-Molina controversy. You almost hear the scrape of the Span rapiers! But it is a very illuminating chapter for all students mystical theology. The two following chapters are also of considera speculative interest. But all this does not interfere with the real e of these conferences, the deepening of the spiritual life.

This is the first publication in English. Père Clérissac died j before the great war, and although French and Italian versions h been published, the English one only now appears. It is a very wor while book—a book to read and re-read. JOHN HOWLE

Scripture

THE WORLD'S CLASSIC, JOB. Translated from the Origi Texts with Introduction and Notes. By George O'Neill, Milwaukee: Bruce. pp. 158. 1938. $2.75.

THE BOOK OF JONA. Translated with Introduction and N by the Rev. T. E. Bird, D.D., Ph.D. pp. xxxiv+18. Lond Longmans. 1938. 2s. 6d. (cloth boards).

THE NEW TESTAMENT. Vol. I. The Synoptic Gospels. Rev. Mgr. Joseph Dean, D.D., Ph.D. pp. lxii+382. Lond Longmans. 1938. 10s. 6d.

THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST. By Père M. J. Lagrange, Translated by Members of the English Dominican Provi Vols. I and II. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1 10s. 6d. each.

MANUEL D'ETUDES BIBLIQUES. Tome IV. Les Evang pp. 915. By the Abbés Lusseau and Collomb. Paris: Té Nouvelle édition. 1938. 50 fr.

TENNYSON said of the Book of Job that it is "the greatest poe ancient or modern times" and Daniel Webster, the American or that it is "the most wonderful poem of any age or language." Ca thought it "one of the grandest things ever written with pen." the late Mr. Chesterton (not quoted by Father O'Neill) wrot characteristic fashion: "The present importance of the Book of

ot be expressed adequately even by saying that it is the most esting of ancient books. We may almost say of the Book of Job it is the most interesting of modern books." And he proceeds ıstify the paradox.

ow for the average reader, especially the Catholic reader, the ty and sublimity of this book have hitherto been dimmed by lations in more or less archaic language and full of obscurities. e obscurities Father O'Neill does not claim to have entirely removed, ome of them are in the original text. But he has reduced them minimum. The result is a clear, literary, and even beautiful on in modern but not colloquial English.

oreover he has further helped the reader to understand and eciate this ancient Hebrew dramatic poem and that in three —first by an admirable introduction (57 pages) based on wide ng and competent learning but in simple and untechnical language, ıdly by notes which are concise and apposite, and thirdly by ing the prose prologue and epilogue as prose and the body of oem as verse.

e thus states the theme of this wonderful book: "The eternal ict between good and evil; the right interpretation of this conflict, bewildering vicissitudes and baffling consequences; the difficulty distracted and suffering world of maintaining faith in a creator and who is wise, loving, and omnipotent, of equating rewards and hments, either in this mortal life or in a dimly discerned future, men's good or evil conduct." We would draw special attention ather O'Neill's subtle but convincing explanation, illustrated from em by Father Gerard Manley Hopkins, of Job's impatience.

he work just reviewed as well as by his book on the Psalms, wed in these pages last year, Father O'Neill has in a manner talled the volumes on these two books of the Old Testament h are in preparation in the "Westminster Version of the Sacred tures"—*viz.*, the Book of Job by the Very Rev. J. M. T. Barton, and the Psalms by Father Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., as announced he publishers. Meantime, however, having just completed the Testament, the Editors of that Version are making steady ress with the Old. They have begun with some of the shorter s. Already there have appeared the Books of Nahum and ıkkuk, the Book of Malachy, and the Book of Ruth, and we have before us the Book of Jona.

his Book, which is only 42 verses long, is remarkable for this no part of the Old Testament brings out God's universal love so ly. "Hence it is," says the Editor, "that the Book of Jona is of the most important books of the Old Testament." Our Lord

is recorded as quoting from it on two occasions. Short as it i presents many difficulties. These are lucidly and frankly set fort the introduction and notes. The chief of them is the question a whether the book is to be regarded as an historical narrative allegory, a parable and moral tale, or a dream containing a teac which is set forth in the last verse. Like all the volumes of Westminster Version this book is edited with extreme care and thor competence and is beautifully produced by the publisher.

It happens that, of the remaining scriptural works before us, deal, like the volume just mentioned, with the Gospels as a w One of them is by the great biblical scholar—the greatest sure modern times—Père M. J. Lagrange, O.P. He signed the Pr of this work on May 8 of the present year, and now his life-wo over and he is no longer with us (R.I.P.). But of that life-work book, now translated into English, is a fitting crown. Amon many works he had published voluminous and learned commen on each of the four Gospels. Then he had brought the four tog in the form of a " synopsis " or " harmony," first in the original G text, then in a French translation. This was translated into En and published under the title *A Catholic Harmony of the Four G* (Burns Oates and Washbourne). The present work is, accordi the author's own statement, " little more than a rapid comme on the Synopsis together with a few historical observations " (Pr p. xv). Yet this might easily convey a mistaken impression to who have not seen the book, for it does not consist of the Scri text with notes on each verse or sentence. The text is not print all and there are scarcely any footnotes. The author has s adopted the order or sequence of his harmony, numbering his parag with the same numbers, and then, putting aside all the appara erudition, he has written *currente calamo* a simple, clear narrat the incidents and discourses recorded by the evangelists. The naturally, in the course of the narrative, discussions and explan in which the author brings to bear his wonderful knowledge entire background of the biblical writings. But he has " striv make it intelligible to those who have only this book at hand w much time to devote to its study; to those also, I should like able to say, who are engrossed in manual labour."

It will be seen that Père Langrange has given us in this book amounts to a Life of our Lord. In the Preface he gives the r why he " gave up all idea of presenting a Life of Jesus of the kind." " The Gospels themselves," he thinks, " are the only Jesus Christ that can be written " and they are " inadequ historical documents for writing a history of Jesus in the way in

odern author would write the history of Caesar Augustus or Cardinal Richelieu." But we may well be profoundly grateful to the great lar for what he has done for us in the present work.

Manuel d'Etudes Bibliques, of which the volume under review e first in a new edition (the first edition was in 1932), seems to have a secure place as an approved and standard manual for seminaries. evising their work for this new edition, the authors have taken unt of important works that have appeared since the first and of the archæological and other discoveries that have since been e. So the work may be regarded as up-to-date. However, from fact that the pagination of the original edition has been preserved evident that no considerable changes have been made. The bulk ne original has not been increased. Neither, however, has it been eased, and the seminarians who are expected to master its 915 ly printed pages have before them a formidable if worth-while ; for this volume deals with the Gospels alone and is only one of levoted to the Bible by this Manual. Little wonder that in their ace the authors feel obliged to explain and defend the dimensions neir work. We may accept their explanations and welcome their Manual. S. J. B.

Philosophy

ESTIONS DE CONSCIENCE. Par Jacques Maritain. Paris : Desclée de Brouwer. 1938. 20 fr.

book consists of a number of essays on subjects of the day, which Maritain calls questions of conscience. The treatment is not con- ous. The essays derive, however, a continuity from the theological philosophical principles in the light of which M. Maritain always iders particular problems. This, in fact, is the secret of his effective- He is not an easy writer. His logic is severe and closely knit. has few of those sudden illuminations of phrase which captivate reader. His terminology at times is a little repellent. But he ys brings to bear on problems, whether speculative or practical, ilosophy which is peculiarly alive, a philosophy possessing at once sity and range. In this book his chief subjects are : " The Church Civilisations " ; " Impossible Antisemitism " ; " Action and emplation " ; " Catholic Action and Political Action " ; and e Liberty of the Christian."

n a brief review one can merely refer to some of the interesting lems discussed by M. Maritain. The philosophical centre of gravity ese problems lies in the essay on " Action and Contemplation." Maritain shows how Christianity, working from within, transfigures philosophical theory of contemplation. To this subject of contem- on Christianity brings four things that are new. It teaches men

that love is more fundamental than intelligence. It transfigures t
notion of contemplation itself: the contemplation of the philosophe
we are told in the beautiful little work *De Adhaerendo Deo*, exists
the perfection of him who contemplates, and therefore it does not
beyond the intellect—its end is intellectual knowledge; the Conte
plation of the saints, on the other hand, is for the love of God who
contemplated. (M. Maritain is in error in ascribing this book to Alb
the Great. Monsignor Grabmann, many years ago, showed that
was written by Johannes von Kastl, a Benedictine monk of Eichst
c. 1400). In the third place, Christianity transfigures the concept
action; Christ in His own Person manifested the natural dignity
toil. Finally contemplation is not, as it tended to be for the Gree
an affair of specialists or of a privileged caste. All are called to
banquet of divine love and of divine wisdom. Contemplation beco
in a definite sense catholic and universal. M. Maritain is of opir
that the rejection of contemplative values is the great evil of the We

The essay on "Catholic Action and Political Action" deals v
a problem which is of great interest at the moment. The activi
of the Christian are on three planes: the plane of the spiritual,
plane of the temporal, and an intermediate plane where the spiri
joins the temporal, first to enlighten and aid the temporal itself
then to preserve for the spiritual its proper objects. On the first p
man acts as a member of the mystic body of Christ, on the secon
a member of the earthly State engaged in the affairs of the terre
life. These two orders are distinct but not disjoined. When g
remakes our nature, every action shows it and is illumined by it.
on the temporal plane our action, although an action with chris
inspiration, is not specifically christian but rather a temporal acti
political, national, cultural—springing also from christian inspiratio

Catholic Action has to do exclusively with the first and the t
planes, political action with the second. M. Maritain works out
great insight the results that follow. Catholic Action pre-supp
contemplation. The catholic must dispose himself for it by pr
A man cannot give without having first received. An apost
pre-supposes an apostle. This essay abounds in acute judgment
problems which we constantly encounter. It is because we do
keep the distinction of the different planes of activity clear tha
find difficulty in practical problems.

"There is a judgment of Catholicism on the connections whic
and literature have with ethics and with the moral capacities of av
men; but this judgment will not tell me what is to be thought c
books of Joyce or of the poems of Rimbaud as works of art."

"The extreme care with which the Church avoids allowing Ca
Action to be contaminated with Political Action answers to the n

hings. It would be the ruin of a fundamental evangelical truth, ruin of the distinction between the things that belong to Caesar the things that belong to God."

"But it would be to confuse the spiritual and the temporal to gine that the common doctrine of the Church suffices of itself alone resolve the conflicts of secular history and to furnish the poral, concretely determined solutions of which men have need *hic unc.*"

Obviously where "civic" and Catholic Action are conjoined the t delicate problems arise—the defence of the values proper to the of God, of values immersed in the temporal. These borderland blems are often extremely difficult and there are no facile solutions. s unnecessary to recommend this book to the intelligent reader. lemonstrates the immense value, in problems which seem merely ctical and of the moment, of an appeal to principles which have d the test of time. D. O'K.

INTRODUCTION TO LOGIC. By Jacques Maritain. London: Sheed & Ward. 1937. 8s. 6d.

modest but efficient translator, I. C. of Manhattanville, has put students of Logic and many others in English-speaking countries er a debt of gratitude. A translation of the *Petite Logique*, the essor to the well-known *Introduction to Philosophy*, was overdue. s a long time since Mill wrote: "I am persuaded that nothing in lern education tends so much, when properly used, to form exact kers, who attach a precise meaning to words and propositions are not imposed on by vague, loose or ambiguous terms." The rs that have passed since these words were said have not discredited m. If our educational experts ever decide, following authority e weighty than Mill's, to employ or rather to re-introduce this ent instrument into secondary schools, they will find *An Introduction Logic* an admirable text-book.

M. Maritain is first of all severely traditional: the logic he expounds hat method of reasoning which is the discovery of Aristotle alone is not the least monument of his genius. Minor Logic has for im *rectitude* in reasoning, leaving to kindred disciplines the question *ruth*. By rigidly omitting questions that belong to Major Logic *Critica* or Epistemology (I. C.'s term "Critique" does not seem ery happy choice), he can give a full treatment to the essential nents of formal logic, concept, judgment, reasoning. M. Maritain's e is that of Aristotle, St. Thomas and John of St. Thomas— is his favourite if not his unique interpreter of the Master; but s at the same time fresh and modern. Minor Logic is usually an uninteresting treatise: it abounds in definitions; it deals with

reference to mental processes which have no true significance for t beginner. One of the great merits of M. Maritain's book is that has made this subject intelligent by giving a brief and accura psychological explanation of the acts of reasoning which are its *obiectu materiale.* Moreover he constantly shows that Minor Logic prolon its roots and branches into other regions of philosophy and that t attitude taken up towards certain notions will command most importa consequences : *e.g.*, that the whole philosophy of Realism or Nominali may spring from one view of the comprehension and extension terms.

The analysis of the judgment is done finely and with intelligenc the meaning of this act and its significance in philosophy are clea indicated. The treatment of the whole subject of reasoning (meaning) and of the syllogism (its forms and its validity) is particula full and satisfactory : it is rigidly traditional and yet modern.

An Introduction to Logic seems to us an extremely good wor it is solid, fresh, intelligent. M. Maritain's peculiar gift of enter into a subject, of ridding it of antiquated and irrelevant questio and of presenting it in an interesting and modern way is very happ seen in his book. H. K

IRELAND—THE NEW ALLY. By John Gibbons. Dubl Browne and Nolan. London : Robert Hale. 1938. 8s. 6d. r

In every generation there have been Englishmen who, while lo beyond suspicion to their own land, openly sympathised with a advocated with voice and pen the claims of Ireland for justice. T noble tradition of the few is in our day upheld by a certain numbe writers, not the least of whom in zeal and courage is Mr. John Gibb In this book on Anglo-Irish relations he treats his subject from viewpoint of a patriotic Englishman whose primary concern is for own country. An observant traveller in many lands, a keen stud of national problems elsewhere, he is well equipped for his t

The author does not treat his readers to sentimental rhapsodies the Green Isle or the good-natured, if comic, people inhabiting in which so many of his countrymen indulge. He takes us with in his journeyings all through Ireland, during which he deals with bias with the hard facts of its contemporary life. He sees a resurg country, conscious of her strength, aware of her needs, and demand a place, inferior to none, in the comity of nations. And he shows t apart from any consideration of justice, it is to England's safety interest that the demand should be fully satisfied. Writing as who knows, he declares that the mass of the English people have b told only half-truths about Ireland by their statesmen. Their ne papers, too, have joined in a conspiracy of misrepresentation,

cularly so regarding the partition of the country. All the wrong-
gs in " southern " Ireland are served up with gusto in their pages,
: there is a studious hush-up regarding such events in the Six
ty statelet. " The propaganda scales," writes Mr. Gibbons, " are
nted, and weighted damnably." If his book, so sane and far-
ned, is as widely read by his countrymen as it deserves to be, it
help in no small measure to tilt them.

n describing and tracing to their sources in the past the many
nalies apparent in modern Ireland, north and south, Mr. Gibbons
s a sound knowledge of Irish history. Occasionally he is not quite
, as when he attributes the failure of the French expeditions to
nd in the 18th century to the influence of the Catholic bishops.
regarding more recent events, one reads with some surprise that
atholic Church condemned the hunger-strike of Terence MacSwiney
nicide (*Cf.* " Ethical Aspect of the Hunger-Strike " in *Studies*,
, 1920), while not a few of Mr. Gibbons's Irish readers will resent
tatement that the Irish plenipotentiaries, who signed the Treaty
21, " betrayed their trust." But, for this fine book, he deserves
hanks of all Irishmen—and more so, perhaps, of all Englishmen.

R. H.

DEN—ANCIENT AND MODERN. Published by the Swedish
Traffic Association. London : Allen and Unwin. 1938. 5s. net.

introduction to Sweden is admirably designed for its purpose.
n is in fact the basis of Swedish life. Its high level of culture,
perty of opinion, and its economic stability combine to constitute
of the most progressive and charming countries in the modern
l. The most striking feature of the internal development of
country during the present century has been the gradual fusion
n ancient and powerful bureaucracy with a modern democracy
the emergence of the most stable body politic in Europe.

lthough its area of 173,296 square miles is nearly as large as
any, its population is only some 5,000,000, and its arable land
s approximately only nine per cent. of the total area, of
n more than half is occupied by forests, one of the great sources of
h. Although the agricultural population has decreased during
t years, actual production, owing to modern methods and scientific
ng, has increased by leaps and bounds. The lack of coal and
al oils for a long time retarded industrial development, and it
nly after 1890—when a Swedish electrician, Jonas Wenström,
possible the exploitation of water power—that Swedish industry
oped through the provision of motive power at low cost.

wedish foreign policy, based on the assumption of neutrality in
ext as in the last European conflict, has enabled its government,

whilst not neglecting defence, to devote its principal attention problems of peaceful social progress. It acts on the philosophy t costs of health services represent an investment in the most valua productive instrument of all, the people itself. As in other countr the movement of population to urban areas and the decrease in ferti are causing alarm and are at present the subject of inquiry and pol

Although it is not referred to in this handbook, the present Lab Government are planning a nationalisation of consumption which serve both to promote the egalitarian ideals of socialism and to av the dismal prospect of a declining population. They propose a two redistribution of income—horizontal as between different types families and vertical as between different social classes. This pract solution, which involves certain free services, is planned as rati co-operation among the citizens of a democratic country on the princ of national solidarity financed through the national budget.

In order to provide for budget balancing over a period the Gov ment have established a Budget Equalisation Fund, and early year an Emergency Budget was passed by the Riksdag empowe the Government to spend up to 230 million kroner on public w when thought desirable. By this means it can deal, when necess with the effects of any trade recession and prevent it becoming serious. This combination of budgetary and mone measures for the purpose of ensuring stability also illustrates the ciple of design which permeates Swedish life and gives it stren Sweden owes a great deal to the Bernadotte dynasty under who has enjoyed unbroken peace for over a hundred years and whose pre representative is not only King of Sweden but its most popular cit

In few European countries have the results of the Reformation more sweeping or permanent, and the State Church, Luthera character and origin, dominates the religious life of the country. T are only 3,500 Catholics in Sweden, and outside the large cities Catholic Church as a religious institution hardly exists.

This book is a complete introduction to Swedish life in all its asp It contains many beautiful photographs and some excellent maps diagrams, which taken together present a complete and fascin picture of modern Sweden. The secret of Swedish success and c is perhaps best found in the advice of old Gustavus Vasa, its great king and the creator of the modern Swedish state, whi inscribed under his statue in the great hall of the Nordic Museu Stockholm—" Be Swedes."

JOHN J. HORG

Books Received

ALLERS, RUDOLF. Psychology of Character. Unicorn Books. (Sheed & Ward
ATTWATER, DONALD. A Dictionary of Saints. (Burns Oates, 9/-).
AUGUSTINE, FATHER. Ireland's Loyalty to the Mass. (Sands, 3/6).

.S, RUDOLPH. Religious Instruction and Education. (New York: Wagner; London: Herder, 10/6).
NE, ALEXANDRE. Memoirs of a Soviet Diplomat. (Lovat Dickson, 15/-).
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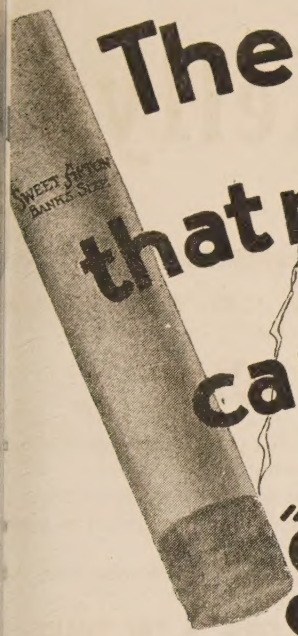

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